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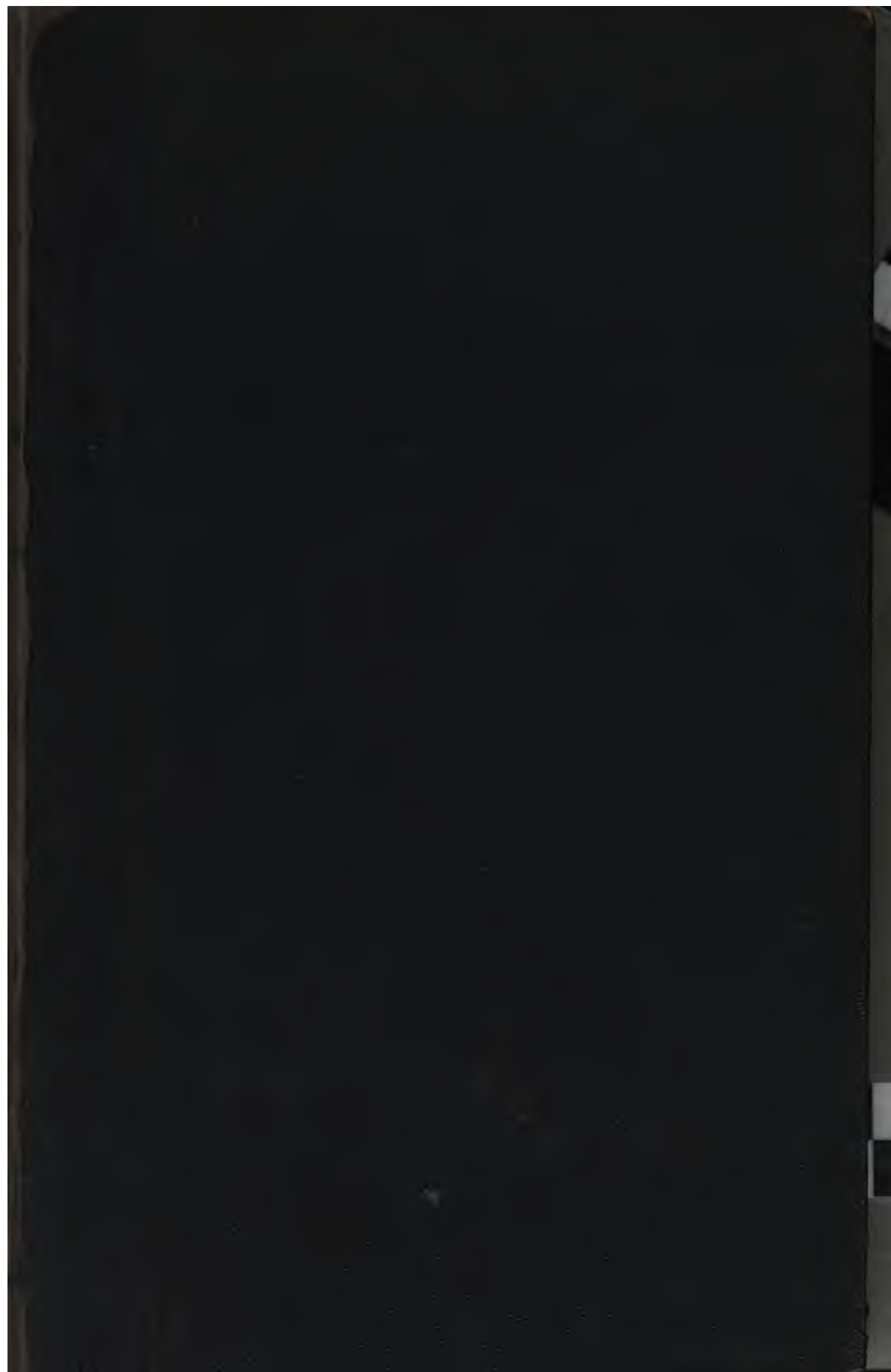
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Francis Marion Jones Esq.
with the compliments of
COLLECTIONS

H. H. Jeff
care of J. S. & Co. St. Louis
OF THE

GEORGIA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

NON SIBI, SED ALIIS.

SAVANNAH:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of publishing a volume of Collections, early claimed the attention of the Georgia Historical Society, and the first proper opportunity has been improved to present it to the public.

At the regular meeting of the Society, Dec. 9, 1839, a Committee of five was appointed "to ascertain what materials were in its possession for the publication of a volume relating to the History of Georgia, and upon the expediency of publishing the same." That Committee reported at a meeting of the Board of Managers, on the 24th February, 1840, and their views were, after one amendment, unanimously adopted. The Report urged the immediate issue of a volume, and recommended the articles in the list of Contents to constitute the collection.

The second article, is said by Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. xi., p. 19, to have been from the pen of General Oglethorpe. As the production of the illustrious founder of Georgia it will ever command an attentive perusal, and though the gorgeous, and utopian descriptions he gives of these provinces, have ceased to influence the visionary and the avaricious, yet it is interesting to behold the medium through which he viewed his darling project, and the means by which he prosecuted his designs.

Mr. Moore, who wrote the "Voyage to Georgia," which constitutes the third article, came hither as store-keeper to the settlement at Frederica; and his journal is a plain and faithful narrative of the daily events of the southern portion of the colony, as they passed under his own observation. His description of the settlement, and military defence of Frederica on St. Simons, is very minute and authentic. He lifts the curtain upon the opening acts of hostility with the

Spaniards, and tells an unvarnished tale of their crafts, their treachery, and their perfidious designs.

Mr. Moore made a second voyage to Georgia in 1738, when he was appointed Recorder of Frederica, and continued in that capacity until 1743. In a note to the above "Voyage" he stated that he "had kept a constant journal while in Georgia, in which is an account of the siege of St. Augustine in 1740, and of the Spaniards' invasion of Georgia in 1742." Copies of these are in one of the volumes obtained from the State Paper office, London.

It is generally presumed that Benj. Martyn, Esq. was the author of the *Impartial Inquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*. A publication like this, was loudly called for at that time, by the peculiar circumstances in which the colony was placed. The tail male feature of their grants, and the prohibition of rum and negroes, together with the usual local troubles and jealousies of delegated power, had excited much clamor and opposition to General Oglethorpe and the Trustees; and complaints, misrepresentations, slanders, and every species of evil report were assiduously circulated by the malecontents, some of which were published in this country and some in England. One of the boldest, and most violent of these publications, was a pamphlet printed in Charleston, S. C., in 1741, styled, "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from its first Settlement thereof until this present Period, containing the most Authentic Facts, Matters and Transactions therein, together with his Majesty's Charter, Representations of the People, Letters, &c., and a Dedication to his Excellency General Oglethorpe, by Pat Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. A., Da Douglass and others, Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charleston, S. C."

An answer to this splenetic effusion was prepared by Benj. Martyn, Esq., and published by order of the Honorable Trustees in 1741, entitled, "An Account, showing the progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its first establishment." "The *Impartial Inquiry*" is a very business like paper, evinces an intimate acquaintance with the colony, and a full knowledge of the plans and undertakings of the Trustees. It is much more temperate in its style, and less glowing in its eulogies, than most of the writings relating to the colony. It is a plain and direct refutation of some of the

objections to the settlement, and ably defends this political offspring of benevolence from the ruthless attacks of the peevish and the discontented.

The fifth of these pamphlets was written by Benjamin Martyn, Esq., "Secretary to the Board of Trustees for settling the Colony in Georgia" who was intimately acquainted with their operations and designs, and well qualified therefore, to enforce the claims of this colony and enhance the zeal and benevolence of those, who had liberally bestowed upon it their charity and influence. The copy in the possession of the Society formerly belonged to Jonathan Belcher Esq., Governor of Massachusetts, probably presented by General Oglethorpe himself, with whom he corresponded.*

This is a well written tract; plausible in its arguments, glowing in its descriptions, valuable for its information, and pertinent in its appeals to the philanthropic and benevolent. It is singular to remark in this pamphlet, that the very first objection which the author combats as having been urged against the undertaking, was "*our colonies may in time grow too great for us and throw off their dependency*," an objection which time has verified, but against which he argued, with much skill and address.

The Life of General Oglethorpe, which forms the last article, is from the pen of a gentleman, venerable with age, but who still pursues the studies of literature with all the enthusiasm of youth, and the assiduity of the scholar. His residence is in the vicinity of the tabby fort, and moss-covered trees of Frederica — they are the familiar scenes of his boyhood, linked in with those early associations which are the last erased by time from the tablet of memory; and with a heart, venerating its great founder, "the Romulus of Georgia," he has prepared this tribute to his virtues and renown. It was not the intention of the writer to make an elaborate biography; he designed but to sketch the more prominent lines and features, and how well he has succeeded the public have now an opportunity to judge.

It is not the design of the Georgia Historical Society to

* On his leaving Massachusetts for New Jersey, the Governor gave it, with other books to Thaddeus Mason, Esq., who had been his private Secretary; and from him it descended to his grandson, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D., and by him was furnished to the shelves of the Library of the Historical Society of Georgia.

write the history of the State. It but garners up the materials, and leaves the historian to arrange and digest them.

A work bearing the title of a "History of Georgia," has already been given to the public. Of this, it is unnecessary to say much. Burdened as Major McCall was, with physical infirmities, a martyr to the perils and exposures of a service, in which he gained credit as an officer, enduring almost every thing which humanity could endure in the shape of pain and suffering, possessed of few materials, unused to literary efforts, and often writing with his portfolio on his knees, whilst confined a helpless invalid to his bed, he deserves great praise for his persevering zeal, by which much that is interesting and valuable, has been rescued from oblivion. But while we accord to Major McCall every honor which is due, we are constrained to say, that his work is deficient in narrative, and as a whole, materially imperfect in many of its statements.

In one sense, therefore, the history of Georgia is untrodden ground. A few fragments of ancient chronicles have been published, and a few tracts illustrative of colonial affairs circulated; but the great body of events remains almost untouched.

It was in contemplation by a gentleman versed in literature, to write a history of this State, which should correct the errors of McCall, be more ample in its details, and more worthy of the commonwealth. To this end Mr. Bevan had amassed a large number of reports, letters, pamphlets and documents, and the general assembly by a resolution passed December 13, 1824, appropriated four hundred dollars to Mr. Bevan, "for the purpose of collecting, arranging and publishing all papers relating to the original settlement or political history of this State, now in the executive or secretary of state's office. But death laid him low, and none have since been found to prosecute the undertaking.

A period has now arrived peculiarly favorable for an historian. A spirit of inquiry has been excited, the means of information are rapidly augmenting, and through public and private generosity, the library of the Georgia Historical Society, already contains documents of the highest interest and importance.

By virtue of a resolution of the Georgia Legislature passed December 23d, 1837, the Governor appointed the Rev.

Charles Wallace Howard, an agent of the state, "to repair to London, for the purpose of procuring the colonial records, or copies thereof, now in the colonial departments of Great Britain, that relate to the history and settlement of this state." By the further liberality of the same body, the papers, which were the result of his mission, are placed in our library, subject, however, to its future decision.

These documents fill twenty-two large folio volumes, averaging over two hundred closely written pages each. Fifteen are from the office of the Board of Trade; six from the State Paper Office, and one from the King's Library. The first four from the Board of Trade contain numerous letters on various topics connected with the affairs of the colony, from the Rev. John Martin Bolzius, William Spencer, Major Horton, James Habersham, William Stephens, Samuel Urlsperger, C. de Munch, General Oglethorpe, Thomas Bosomworth, Benjamin Martyn, Noble Jones, John Reynolds, &c. Depositions of Indian traders; memorials to the Board of Trade, and to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; orders of council, &c. &c. The succeeding eight, are filled with orders of the lords justices in council; proclamations by the same. Proceedings of the president and assistants in Georgia; accounts of the produce of Georgia; addresses and proclamations of Governor Reynolds; schedule of public despatches; treaties with the Indians, together with the correspondence of Pat Graham, Ottelonghe, Benjamin Martyn, Joseph Habersham, Governor Ellis and Governor Wright. The thirteenth and fourteenth, are composed of orders in council, correspondence of Governor Wright with General Gage, the Board of Trade, Earl of Hillsborough, Earl Shelburne; papers in relation to the silk culture; extracts from the journals of council in Georgia; talk with Indian tribes, and orders of the king in council at the court of St. James. The minutes of the house of assembly in 1780, occupy the last and fifteenth volume from this source. The first date of papers in this division is 1746, and a regular chronological order is preserved to 1780.

The six volumes obtained from the "State Paper Office" are exceedingly rich in historical intelligence, derived from a great variety of sources. They contain large portions of the correspondence of Oglethorpe with many different persons,

his transactions with the Governor of St. Augustine, papers and depositions relating to Spanish settlements, treaties with the Spanish authorities — journals and letters descriptive of the siege of St. Augustine, the affair at Mosa, the Spanish invasion of Georgia, and all the difficulties with these enemies of the colony. They contain also the minutes and memorials of the Trustees, journals of the upper and lower houses of Assembly, messages from and petitions to the Governor, correspondence of Martyn, Harman Verelst, Governor Wright, the Earl of Dartmouth, Duke of Bedford, Earl of Hillsborough, Alex. Heron, James Habersham, and closes with an abstract of proceedings in 1775. This portion of the records dates back from 1735, but there is a hiatus from the year 1750 to 1760 inclusive.

The twenty-second volume, derived from papers in the King's Library, contains first "A general description of Georgia, climate, productions, Indians, &c.," Governor Wright's letter to the Lords of Trade, Governor Wright's letter to the Earl of Shelburn, and lastly the Governor's answers at length to the queries of the Lords of Trade, which very fully and minutely detail all the principal facts relating to the Province. Such is a very cursory survey of the matter embraced in these invaluable records. They constitute an almost exhaustless mine, where not a shaft has been sunk, to recover its treasures, and give them the form and connection of History.

Next perhaps in value to these colonial documents, are several volumes of the original journal and correspondence, both private and official, of James Habersham; commencing as early as 1739, and continued with some intermissions down to the Revolution. Seldom has a richer collection of letters been found; they are in themselves an inestimable legacy, containing the fervent effusions of a pious heart, the sentiments of an intelligent and judicious mind, the experience of a man of business, the advice and counsel of high official station, and the glowing enthusiasm of the sincere patriot. In those dark and troublous times consequent on the ill-judged measures of the Trustees, when ruin and despair brooded over the colony, he remained by her the firm friend, the able counsellor, the effective agent, to heal the wounds they had unwittingly made, and raise the settlement to that eminence which it had been the hope and desire of its friends

that it should attain. His letters during that period, portray in a graphic manner the distress and misery of the people ; they shew him superior to the sordid and self-aggrandizing views which marked the conduct of many of its summer and sunshine friends ; and they prove him to have been the bold and fearless advocate of the half depopulated and sinking province, when there were none to sustain her rights or truly exhibit her manifold grievances. A large number of the letters in one volume, and several in others, are written to his friend the eloquent Whitefield. On the establishment of the Georgia Orphan House by Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Habersham became its President, and his correspondence from Bethesda, detailing their operations from time to time, are particularly valuable, both as they relate to that celebrated divine, and to the first charitable institution founded in our borders.

In relation to the department of Indian History, a department so interesting in itself, and so intimately blended with the early settlement of this State ; the Society has obtained some very rare and valuable manuscripts. These contain long and minute accounts of the manners and customs of the Indians. Proceedings of Indian agents, and treaties with several tribes, all greatly augmenting the materials of aboriginal history. Such in brief, (together with the usual amount of information to be gathered from the archives of the State) are some of the materials which the future historian of Georgia will have at his command. They are rich, abundant, satisfactory. In whatever light we view our beloved State, whether as a colony planted by the benefactions of the philanthropist ; as a frontier settlement, exposed to the horrors of Spanish and Indian invasion ; as the youngest of the old confederacy, and yet among the first to proclaim her rights, and demand redress ; or as burdened, harassed, and almost eradicated by the war of the Revolution ; she deserves a historian who shall do honor to her name, who shall justly exalt her character, who shall proclaim her deeds of valor, and who, finding the graves of her heroes, as Cicero found the tomb of Archimedes, "*septum vepribus et dumentis*," shall clear away the weeds and brambles, and retouch, like Old Mortality, the half-defaced memorials of their worth, so that future generations may read of their self-sacrificing devotion for the benefit of their country.

The Georgia Historical Society is yet in the infancy of its being. It has not seen one annual revolution. But the spirit which animates its members is one of enlightened zeal and persevering labor. It comes in as auxiliary to the many similar associations already existing ; and offers this, its first tribute, to the general object. It is laboring in a distinct field for our common country, and aims to enrich American literature, by treasuring up, and publishing the memorials of this important member of the Union.

We trust that the efforts which have resulted in this volume, will be rightly appreciated, and hope to be enabled to follow it with others, which shall be equally valuable, in elucidating the past, and rendering permanent the fleeting memorials of Colonial History.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

JUDGE LAW'S ORATION BEFORE THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FEBRUARY 12, 1840. *

WHEN the great historic Poet of the Greeks derived his heroes from the gods, and ascribed their constant guidance and protection to some ethereal deity; when he sang of the renowned exploits of their ancestors combatting and vanquishing the fabled Centaurs, "rude dwellers on the mountain heights," † he ministered to a taste and sentiment of his countrymen natural to the human heart, and common to the human family. Prompted by pride and vanity all nations have desired to increase the lustre of their origin, and the fame of their ancestry, by filling the "immense vacuity," which lies beyond the limits of well authenticated memoirs, with the splendid inventions of fable. We delight to honor the memories and celebrate the virtues of our Forefathers. The existence of this inherent principle is attested and illustrated by universal example. To gratify its indulgence, the boundaries of truth have been exceeded, and the mysteries of obscure antiquity penetrated. To heighten its

* The Georgia Historical Society was not organized until Tuesday, *the 4th of June*, 1839. But the 12th of February, the day on which Oglethorpe landed in Georgia, has been selected as a more appropriate period for its anniversary.

The indulgence in extensive details, which characterizes the following sheets, may strike the public taste and judgment as unsuitable to a public address. The writer has been betrayed into this error, if so it be conceived, from an anxious desire to awaken an interest for his subject, and excite a spirit of research and inquiry into the events and incidents of our colonial history, by reviving the remembrance of facts almost lost sight of.

The older books furnishing sketches of the early history of Georgia are exceedingly rare, and are accessible only to a few; even McCall's History has not been republished; and is becoming scarce and not very generally read. It was supposed, too, that in this introductory address the public curiosity would be most gratified, and the expectations of the Association best fulfilled, by the course adopted.

THE AUTHOR.

† Cowper's Homer.

interest, eloquence has contributed the charm of its inimitable art, while poetry has aroused the fancy, and bewildered the imagination in the wild regions of fiction.

The proud Roman traced his genealogy from the gods, and claimed for the infancy and weakness of the eternal city, the guardian care of his imaginary deities. In their most refined day, the Greeks erected the "ostentatious fiction" that the gods alone were worthy to have reared the infancy of a people so distinguished in arts and so renowned in arms.

To review the characters and actions of our ancestors, to look back upon the origin of our country, to trace her progress towards maturity, to cultivate a familiar acquaintance with, and to perpetuate the prominent events which have conduced to her establishment and the formation of the national character, is an exercise designed not merely to gratify even a laudable and well founded national pride, but one which opens a wide field for the indulgence alike of our curiosity and profoundest meditations, and replete with the most instructive admonitions.

There is a land, in relation to whose origin, all fiction vanishes and truth is realized ; where the fable of the Greek and the Roman is converted into the fact at which her people rejoice, and for which their gratitude ascends to the throne of God — a land whose origin depends upon no legendary tales drawn from an obscure and remote antiquity, but is revealed with unerring accuracy, and recorded in the simplicity of uncolored truth. — That land is our Country.

There is a land, the settlement of which was the result of the power of religious principle — of a desire to escape the persecutions of religious intolerance, to enjoy freedom of conscience in the worship of God, and to regulate the life and conduct by the light of the Gospel. The hand of an ever-faithful God, whom its settlers had served, conducted, and his protecting providence preserved them during a long and perilous voyage, amidst the blasts of the ocean tempest, and the terrors of the winter's storm. The pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night moved not indeed before them. The age of miracles had passed away, prophecy and vision had ceased to be mediums of heavenly communications. The fulfilment of the most sublime of all prophecies had been accomplished, and the promised messenger had descended to enlighten and sanctify the world. Guided by his holy

influences this peculiar people, zealous of the honor and service of Jehovah, were conducted to a new world ; where for the first time a temple was raised to the Lord, the prayer of faith ascended, and the song of gratitude and joy broke the silence of the solitary wilderness — that song which Moses sang, “The Lord is our strength and song, and he is become our salvation. He is our God and we will prepare him an habitation.” — That land is our common country.

Forever may that prayer continue to ascend in this grateful country. Forever may that song continue to praise our Father's God. Long, O long, may that habitation continue to stand, embracing as it now does the wide limits of our extended country, until it shall number among the worshipers of the Redeemer the vast multitude of our busy and increasing population.

There is a country, the eventful vicissitudes of whose progress from infancy to national maturity and greatness ; the extraordinary and successful results which marked that progress, far transcending the natural agencies employed, point the eye of faith with unwavering confidence to a special superintending Providence which controls and directs the affairs of nations as well as of individuals : while the dictates of reason combine with the suggestions of faith to assure us, that the great Ruler of the world has selected and established there the abode of a chosen people, entrusted with the care and maintenance of those great principles of Christian piety and civil liberty, which, radiating upon the nations of the earth, are destined to bless the world with light, liberty and happiness. — That Country is our own.

What a field for profound reflection and useful instruction is presented by the review of the early history of such a country ? Can we meditate upon the piety of our Forefathers, and will not the standard of our moral and religious feelings (the firmest basis upon which our Republic rests) be elevated ? Can we dwell upon their struggles and constancy in the cause of civil freedom, and will not our patriotism burn in a purer and brighter flame ? Can we study the institutions which their prudence and wisdom have erected for the security of the rights of man, and will not the boundaries of our own wisdom be enlarged the better to maintain and transmit these inestimable rights to posterity ?

Gentlemen of the Georgia Historical Society :

It is for the purpose of making our contribution (with particular reference to our own State) to the means for the completion and perfection of the extended chain of our country's history, that this Association has been organized, and this anniversary occasion is observed. History is but a series of causes and effects, instructing as well by the power and force of example as by the deductions of philosophy. The preservation of all, even the minute facts and incidents of all the parts and members, is essential to the perfection of the whole ; and no single link in the great chain can be severed, without impairing the useful and accurate instruction it is adapted to impart. As we recede from the period of our origin and infancy the means of correct information must constantly diminish ; while time and accident will obscure and obliterate much that is valuable and worthy of preservation.

At once then, to direct the public attention to the subject, to arouse its curiosity, to awaken its interest, to combine and concentrate the talent and industry of the State in "collecting, preserving and diffusing information relating to the history of Georgia in all its various departments, and to American history generally,"* this is the interesting object, the noble purpose of your Society.

We come here to withdraw ourselves for a sacred hour from the busy scenes of life, from the cares and pursuits of the present, to meditate on the past, to commune with the spirits of our ancestors, to familiarize ourselves with the knowledge of our own state and country. How rich the field in which we are invited to roam, how various the topics which claim and merit our observation ! In the successive returns of this celebration, the Orator will select from the mass of appropriate subjects — he will sketch the lives and characters of some of the most distinguished personages of our earlier history, with their influences upon the destinies of their country. He will link, as it were, the present with the past ; in visions of hope he will associate both with the future. He will ascend along the line of ancestral history up to our beginnings, and examine the civil and political institutions of that early day, commencing with the charter,

* Constitution of the Society.

propriety and royal governments in the different colonies ; and trace their influence and bearing upon the subsequent political events of the country. He will explore the foundation and elements of our social union, mark their progressive operation in the organization of society, to the full developement of principles in that beautiful system, under which, the nation reposes in happiness and security. The systems of education, progress of learning, and present condition of literature will not escape observation — and the history of religion, with its practical effects upon the moral character, habits and manners of the people, will not be overlooked. In occasional connection with his subject, the orator will descend down the stream of that distant posterity where reality is lost in hope, where the mind staggers at the contemplation, and the eye grows dim at the bright visions which blaze around the distant future ; and amid the expansion of her noble principles and free institutions anticipate the coming glory and rising grandeur of his country. Such are some among the ample materials which the plan of your Society will furnish, as separate and successive themes, for the exercises of 'this day. Upon this, the occasion of our first assemblage, I shall limit myself to the performance of a more humble task, whilst I briefly remark upon the formation and progress of Historical Societies in our country, invite your attention to a brief consideration of portions of our early history, and endeavor to present some of its prominent facts and incidents in a form, I trust, more attractive than the mere details and narrative of history.

The history of Georgia has been written ; much that was ready to perish has been there rescued from oblivion and preserved to posterity. But the history of Georgia is not complete, nor indeed can be, without the aids to be obtained from the manuscript papers in the offices of the English government. Many years since, the state of Georgia applied to the general government for its interposition in obtaining copies of such manuscripts having reference to this State ; and in 1828, a bill for this object, and making provision for procuring copies of all the papers in the English offices relating to the colonial history of this country, was reported in congress. It was never acted on. That this measure should have encountered such a fate is truly to be deplored. The subject was altogether worthy of the attention of con-

gress, and was appropriately the business of the national government. The importance of preserving their records has been justly appreciated by every people as far back as we have traces of civilized society. That Moses in the wilderness, and Aaron, and the ancient Israelites under the Kings had national repositories for national documents has been rendered more than probable by a variety of arguments which cannot here be recapitulated.* Among the ancient Egyptians, the preservation of the public records was an important duty of the priesthood. The Persians had their house of rolls or records, for we read in Holy Writ that Darius, the king, ordered search to be made in the house of rolls, whether it be so, that a decree was made of Cyrus, the king, &c.

Athens and Rome had their public libraries and repositories, and among modern nations none has manifested a higher sense of the importance of this duty than England. Her parliament makes an *annual appropriation* for printing ancient manuscript records and documents, to more than double the amount it would cost the United States to procure a copy of all the American colonial papers.† Yet these essential materials of American colonial history remain shut up in the office of the Board of Trade and Plantations in England.

The National Library at Washington is represented as being remarkably deficient in books and information relating to America. A copy of these papers, deposited in the national archives, would constitute an invaluable addition and secure the necessary materials for the future historian of our country.

The State has not been wholly insensible to the importance of this subject. In 1824, a gentleman‡ was engaged by the legislature to collate, arrange and publish the papers, relating to this matter, in the State offices at Milledgeville. He was subsequently induced to visit England and collect facts with the view of writing our history. The death of that gentleman deprived the public of the benefits of his labors. The State has recently made renewed efforts for

* See National Register, published in London, 1819. Introductory remarks to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, upon the propriety of purchasing, for the public, Dr. Binney's library.

† See an article in N. A. Review, for 1830.

‡ Joseph Vallance Bevan.

this purpose through the agency of one,* who has succeeded in procuring twenty-two folio manuscript volumes, copied from the English offices, and by your last legislature deposited in the archives of this Society. From the judgment, ability and industry of this gentleman, it is believed much valuable information will be found to be contained in them. While these exertions have been making to gather materials abroad, it cannot fail to be gratifying, that an institution has risen up to secure and preserve whatever valuable and instructive may be collected at home. And surely there is much to be done here. The object of the Society will be to collect every printed volume, pamphlet, document and manuscript having relation to our early history, — especially during the period of the Revolution. The correspondence of officers of the army; and many valuable papers of this kind, are now scattered through the country in the hands of the descendants of these gallant men. Correspondence of the early governors of the State, and of our delegates in congress, during that period, will also be interesting and claim its attention. The publication of the most important of such manuscripts, for their preservation and diffusion, will probably be attempted. Georgia, we trust, will not want a competent historian to use and combine the mass of materials that may be thus collected and secured from these various sources. Massachusetts has the honor of having set the example and led the way in the organization of these useful associations. Her far-famed Society was organized as early as the year 1791, by some of her distinguished citizens, among whom were Belknap and Sullivan, the historians. It has published about thirty octavo volumes.

The New York Society was organized in 1804, by Egbert Benson, her first president, De Witt Clinton, T. L. Mitchell, Dr. Hossack, and others. It has published four volumes; the last of which comprised the second volume of Smith's History of New York, left by the author in manuscript.

In New Hampshire a society was formed in 1822; her first volume appeared in 1824.

In 1815, a Committee of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, was formed expressly for historical

* Rev. Charles Wallace Howard.

purposes. More recently a new Historical Society has been established in Pennsylvania, at the head of which is the venerable Peter S. Duponceau.

In Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia and Ohio, these associations exist. And it is with unfeigned gratification, I now congratulate you gentlemen, upon being able to add to this list the Georgia Historical Society.*

In considering the immediate causes which led to the settlement of Georgia, we cannot fail to be struck with the truth, that the most important events are frequently the result of remote circumstances, having in the beginning no conceivable connection with their ultimate consequences.

In the year 1729 a committee was raised in the English parliament for the purpose of investigating the condition of the prisons, of relieving suffering victims of misfortune and correcting abuses. This humane effort owed its existence to James Oglethorpe, then a member of parliament, by whom it was moved; and who, as chairman of the committee, was most active and diligent in giving salutary effect to the measure. A great number of persons were found suffering under a rigorous and cruel confinement, who had been imprisoned for inability to discharge their debts. Many of these were rescued by the committee from cruel oppression, and the authors of their sufferings exposed to an indignant public. It was a noble enterprise, a generous care for the "many who pine in want and dungeon gloom," "shut from the common air, and common use of their own limbs." It merited the poet's praise, when, in lines as sweet as the act of mercy he commended, he sang

———"the generous band,
Who, touched with human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail!
Unpitied and unheard, where misery moans;
Where sickness pines; where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.

* * * * *
O great design! if executed well,
With patient care and wisdom-temper'd zeal.
Ye sons of mercy! yet resume the search;
Drag forth the legal monsters into light,
Wrench from their hands oppression's iron rod,
And bid the cruel feel the pains they give."†

* I have gleaned my information of the existence and progress of these societies from articles in the *North American Review*, and from a manuscript note by a gentleman in New York, kindly furnished by a friend.

† Thompson's *Winter*.

This generous work was not destined to an imperfect consummation. It is the quality of that fine attribute of our natures which sympathizes with others' woes, to grow and expand by the double blessing it imparts, blessing "him that gives as well as him that takes." The destitute condition of those thus rescued from the horrors of confinement prompted Mr. Oglethorpe and his humane coadjutors to more extended plans for their effectual relief; and to embrace within the circle of their beneficence a multitude of unfortunate persons in the kingdom, who, in the descriptive language of that day, were "of respectable families, and of liberal or at least easy education; some undone by guardians, some by law suits, some by accidents in commerce, some by stocks and bubbles, and some by suretyship."* To meliorate the condition and effectually relieve the wants of this unfortunate class; to afford also an asylum for poor and distressed protestants driven from Germany, to seek refuge in England, the benevolent and enlightened scheme was formed of planting a colony in Georgia. The application to the crown for this purpose was seconded by considerations of public policy and utility. It was seen that the contemplated colony would form a barrier and protection for that of South Carolina against the Spaniards and Indians; and might be instrumental in retaining the powerful tribes of Southern Indians in the interest of Great Britain, in opposition to the encroachments of Spanish and French influence upon them — while a critical position would thus be occupied, which otherwise, there was reason to believe, would have been occupied by the French.† Thus were beautifully blended, in the very origin of this settlement, the principles of true patriotism with disinterested love for mankind.

No selfish purpose was sought, no personal benefit obtained, no individual aggrandizement promoted by these noble philanthropists, who, in advancing the happiness of others, were the first to set the example of generous contributions from the treasury of their own wealth. Thus strikingly did they exemplify their appropriate motto, "*Non sibi sed aliis.*"

In June, 1732, a charter of incorporation of the Trustees was obtained. And in November of the same year, Mr.

* Pamphlet published in London in 1733.

† Harris's Collection of Early Voyages and Travels, published in 1747.

Oglethorpe, with a hundred and sixteen persons, sailed from Gravesend and reached Charleston, in South Carolina, in January, 1733.*

Gentlemen of the Society! You have been pleased to identify this anniversary with the day consecrated by the landing of the founder of our city with his little colony on the bluff of Yamacraw. We stand this day on that spot. Here is the bluff, and we are here in the midst of the ancient city of Oglethorpe. Who does not feel the influence of a sacred inspiration? The inspiration of the day and of the place. Whose feelings are not irresistibly conducted back to the interesting events of that scene? The landing is effected, the bluff is ascended, the tents are spread. Before them is the wild face of nature, the vast wilderness with its gloomy shades and deep solitudes, unbroken save by the rustling footsteps of the savage hunter cautiously pursuing the timid game. Who does not enter into their feelings; their doubts, their fears? The surrounding neighborhood is explored; and this spot is selected as the site of a city to bear the name of the noble stream which flows at its base; and destined, we trust, to remain the commercial emporium of the State, and to maintain an honorable competition among her southern sisters. Here we become spectators, as it were, of the interview between the European stranger and the red warrior of his native woods. There we see Oglethorpe explaining the object of his visit, expatiating upon the power, grandeur and wealth of his king and country; proffering friendship, and proposing to treat for a portion of lands. And here Tomochichi, the Indian chief, impressed with solemn respect and awe for the strangers and their country, reciprocating professions of friendship, and in the simplicity of his country's custom, presenting the buffaloe's skin adorned with the head and feathers of the eagle, in token of his profound sense of the greatness and power of the country of his visitors, expressing his acquiescence in the formation of a treaty for land, and his desire of perpetual peace.

We pause for a moment at this point of time, whilst the axe is laid to the tree, the wilderness begins to disappear, and the first rude dwellings of Savannah to arise.

A few months have rolled away, and a second arrival is

* Dr. Hewatt, Harris and McCall.

greeted and cheered. But who are these? From what country come they? For what causes are they thus seeking a home in this new and desert world? These are unfortunate Salzburghers from Germany — exiled from their country for conscience sake — devoted to their religious principles, they have here sought an asylum and a home from persecution and want. This is the glorious effort of the society in England for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, who advanced to the Trustees a sum of money sufficient to provide for seven hundred Salzburghers. These embarkations in September and October, 1733, consisted of three hundred and forty-one persons,* who were settled at Ebenezer, in the county of Effingham; where they have always maintained a church and minister and kept up a communication with their church in Germany.

The story of those religious dissensions which, so late as the eighteenth century, terminated in the expulsion of twenty-five thousand persons from their country and their home, belongs to history. Seventeen thousand of them settled in the Prussian States. A large number took refuge in England: £33,000 were raised for their relief in London. Many of these were sent to Georgia and proved excellent colonists. They were visited by Mr. Whitefield at Ebenezer, in 1738; of whom he remarked, that their lands were surprisingly improved — they were blessed with two such pious ministers as he had not often seen; they had no courts of judicature, but all little differences were immediately settled by their ministers. They had an Orphan House with seventeen children and a widow.

Many of the settlers were from Herrnhut, the singular religious establishment founded upon his estates, by the yet more singular and eccentric Count Zinzendorf, who was himself for a time banished from his country. From this place came Augustus Gottlieb Spangenburg, a man of learning, who had spent many years at the University of Jena, had been invited to Halle, from whence he retired to Herrnhut, and was finally sent out to Georgia to regulate as pastor the Moravian establishment. It was of these people that Mr. Wesley, being present at one of their religious conferences and solemn ordination of a bishop, said, the great sim-

* McCall. Harris says, 1734.

plicity as well as solemnity of the whole scene, almost made him forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine himself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not, but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman presided, — yet with the demonstration of the spirit and of power.

Time rolls on, and the beginning of the year 1735 brings another and a third arrival. Ay, thrice welcome these, whose brawny arms, and *stalwart* muscles fit them alike to cultivate the soil, and to constitute a rampart between the hostile Spaniards, with their savage allies, and the earlier and more feeble settlers at Savannah. These are the Highlanders of Scotland. Upon their arrival they instantly occupy the post of danger, and upon the banks of the Alatomaha found the now town of Darien. A position exposed and hazardous from its nearer proximity to the Spaniards.

The description which was given of these deep deserts and gloomy wilds, excited the poetic imagination of Goldsmith in that graphic account of them found in the deserted village: —

“To distant climes, a dreary scene, they go,
Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
Far different these from all that charmed before,
The various terrors of that distant shore;
Those matted woods where birds forget to sing,
But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling;
Those poisonous fields with rank luxuriance crown'd,
Where the dark scorpion gathers death around,
Where at each step the stranger fears to wake
The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake,
Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
And savage men, more murderous still than they.
Far different these from every former scene.”

General Oglethorpe, who went to England in the spring of 1734, accompanied by Tomochichi and several other Indians, followed, on his return, this last arrival, bringing with him four hundred and seventy persons; which was denominated the *great embarkation*. This arrival was on the 6th February, 1735.* They were settled at Frederica, on the island of St. Simons. The two Wesleys, John and Charles, came at this time. John remained in Savannah, and Charles went to Frederica, as secretary to Oglethorpe. Many persons of education, family and distinction, accompanied Oglethorpe at their own expense, in his various embarkations for

* Harris. McCall makes it 1736, and differs as to numbers, &c.

Georgia, (among whom were many of the liberal, warm-hearted and republican sons of Ireland — so eminently devoted to the cause of liberty in the subsequent history of our country,) and became permanent settlers and inhabitants of the colony. The names of many of these sound familiarly and daily upon our ears in the persons of their descendants. Such were the primary and original materials for the settlement of the colony of Georgia.

We have also, from an early date, claimed a connection with our New England countrymen, more endearing than the ties of fellowship which bind the inhabitants of a common country; while the colony was yet under the care of the Trustees, about the year 1752,* a large emigration of descendants from our New England brethren, who had previously removed to South Carolina, arrived in Georgia and settled at Medway, in the parish of St. John, now county of Liberty, having received a grant for thirty-two thousand acres of land. They brought with them that devotion to religious principle, and observance of its duties which had characterized, and all the patriotism and love of liberty which warmed the bosoms of their New England ancestors.

Their noble example has not been lost upon the county in which they settled, but is conspicuous to this day in the excellent police, exemplary order, fervent piety and devotion to country, which now as ever distinguished the county of Liberty. A fair name, won by the spirited determination of her inhabitants, at the breaking out of the Revolution, to send delegates to congress before the rest of the province had agreed to acquiesce in that measure.

A plan, devised in mercy to mitigate the sorrows of suffering humanity, has subjected Georgia to the ungracious taunt of having been peopled from the prisons of England and the outcasts of London. So thought not the sweet Poet of England in his beautiful description —

“Lo! swarming southward on rejoicing suns
Gay colonies extend; the calm retreat
Of undeserved distress, the better home.
Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands.
Such, as of late, an Oglethorpe has form'd,
And crowding round, the pleased Savannah sees.”†

* By the records of Medway Church it appears, that a few persons were sent in May, 1752, in search of lands; and the first settlement was commenced on the 6th of December, 1752.

† Thompson's Liberty. Part V.

Those, who in the stupidity of folly have ventured to indulge the contumely, have overlooked the distinction between misfortune and vice, and have forgotten, that while we are responsible for the latter as the offspring of our own moral deformities, the innocent and virtuous, alike with the vicious, are obnoxious to the former. It is not the prison which degrades, but the offence which consigns us there. When Socrates, after the iniquitous sentence of the Athenian judges, was conducted to his prison, Seneca remarked, "it ceased to be a prison and henceforth became the abode of virtue and habitation of probity." *

We may not compare this class of our settlers with the great philosopher of the ancients, the subject of this beautiful and just sentiment of the moralist; but the sentiment itself may be justly applied to honesty and virtue in the humblest circumstances. It is no more possible for the dungeon to obscure the lustre of virtue and innocence, than for the earth to destroy the brilliant qualities of the gem which lies imbedded in its bosom.

While we yet linger around the scenes of this early period, permit me to conduct you in imagination to a neighboring spot of interesting reminiscence. What are these mouldering walls, these venerable ruins that here strike our view? Behold here the remains of what was once devoted to youthful piety and learning — to the care and protection of the orphan — this was the orphan house. These ruins speak to us of Whitefield and Huntingdon. Of Whitefield, a faithful servant of the most high God. A man whose zeal in the cause of his divine Master, and whose intense interest for the salvation of souls, in despite the ties of kindred and of home, urged him across the Atlantic to divide his labors of love between the old and new world.

He was the founder of a new sect; and a reformer in life, in manners and doctrine. Deeply impressed with the declining state of religion, and mourning over the skepticism and want of practical piety which characterized the age, he united with the Wesleys and became a Methodist.

Unable to acquiesce in the doctrine of human perfection, as maintained by his great coadjutor, he embraced the principles of Calvin, contended for the doctrine of election and final perseverance, and established Calvinistic Methodism.

* Rollin.

He introduced, it is true, no new doctrine when he insisted upon the necessity of regeneration and the new birth as essential to salvation; but he gave to it its appropriate place and importance in the pulpit. Ye must be born again, was the great lesson constantly taught and enforced by him. He introduced a new style of preaching, and infused into the pulpit the ardor and zeal of a mind awakened to the momentous interests of an endless future.

Remarkable for his eloquence and power of extemporaneous speaking, he exerted a resistless control over the minds and passions of his hearers; and both the sinner trembled and the believer rejoiced as he painted the terrors of the law and reasoned of a judgment to come, or discoursed upon the melting mercies of redeeming grace and a Saviour's love. Fancy the impression, if you can, as amidst the passing storm he exhorted the sinner by all his hopes of happiness to repent, and avert the wrath of God from being awakened. And as a gleam of lightning played on the corner of his pulpit, he continued, "'Tis a glance from the angry eye of Jehovah!" and as the thunder broke above him, "Hark, it was the voice of the Almighty as he passed by in his anger!" and as the storm passed away, "Look," said he, "upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it; very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof. It compasseth the heavens about with glory; and the hands of the most high have bended it."*

When the churches of England were closed upon him as an agitator and a fanatic, he established a church in the open air, the only one in all England large enough to accommodate the vast multitudes of his anxious listeners; and thus he became emphatically the great field preacher. A practice followed by Wesley, and to which may be traced the camp meetings of the present day.

His name stands identified with the great religious events and revivals in our country at that period. He went among all denominations, and he preached for all. He was hailed in New York and Philadelphia as a messenger from heaven; and his zeal, pathos and fervor of preaching was soon introduced into many of their pulpits.

The result of his example and connection with these

* Description of Whitefield's preaching, by Miss Francis.

churches was a schism in the Presbyterian church, and the establishment of a new Presbytery. The Whitfieldians maintained the doctrine of man's natural ability and moral inability; and, that he had power to perform the duties enjoined by God, provided he but wills to perform them. Their opponents contended for man's total inability, as the doctrine taught in the Scriptures; and insisted that nothing was gained by the distinction between natural and moral ability. It will at once be perceived, that the doctrine of Whitefield opened a much wider field for the exercise of his declamatory powers in the pulpit. The ministers of New England invited him there, complaining in strong terms of the general declension of the power and life of godliness in their congregations.* Similar results followed his preaching and example in New England, and the Presbyterian church was divided into parties. The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, a man of great learning and sound and well disciplined intellect, from his former didactic manner, became a most passionate pulpit declaimer, and, during a great revival, was so much excited as to indulge the belief that the millennial glory of the church was suddenly about to burst upon a benighted world. It was owing to this circumstance, that in the calm of subsequent tranquillity and reflection, that this gentleman was led to a careful examination of the heart, which produced that invaluable work entitled "Edwards on the Affections."

Struck, from his arrival in Georgia, with the destitute condition of orphan children in the infant colony, Mr. Whitefield immediately conceived the plan of raising funds from charity for erecting and maintaining an institution for the support and education of orphans. This plan had previously been cherished by General Oglethorpe, and an example of its successful experiment furnished by Professor Frank of Germany. Animated by a purely Christian benevolence, the perseverance of Whitefield in this laudable undertaking vanquished all impediments and discouragements. He erected a monument more durable than the marble, which, when accident and time have now left scarcely a vestige to mark the spot consecrated by his benevolence, will yet disclose his motives and his objects, and perpetuate his memory

* Backus's History of New England.

with respect, whilst Georgia has an historian to record or a citizen to read the story of his virtues.

Upon the annunciation of his death, the legislature of Georgia unanimously appropriated a sum of money for the removal of his remains, to be interred at the Orphan House. This design was relinquished only, because the inhabitants of Newbury Port, where he died, refused to part with them. The property of this institution was in 1808, by act of the legislature, ordered to be sold; one fifth of the net proceeds were applied to the uses of the Savannah Poor House and Hospital Society; and the remainder equally divided between the Union Society in Savannah and the Chatham Academy, upon the condition, that the latter institution support and educate at least five orphan children from its funds.*

But this spot reminds us also of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon — of that excellent lady the friend and patroness of Whitefield. Her best eulogium will be pronounced in a brief reference to some of the prominent acts of her life. By her munificent contributions she essentially aided Mr. Whitefield in the establishment of his Orphan House, — to which she bequeathed a large donation at her death. She built and endowed a college in Wales for the education of pious young men for the ministry. She threw open her house in London for the preaching of the gospel of Christ — she erected chapels for that purpose in different parts of the kingdom — and she was estimated to have appropriated during her christian life, for the propagation of the gospel and to institutions for the relief of the poor, near half a million of dollars. A full-sized portrait of this memorable lady, originally the property of the Orphan House, but now of the Chatham Academy, is preserved in remembrance of her. But what is that portrait of the person and the features, in comparison with that fine picture of the heart — of benevolence and piety and virtue presented to our minds by a reference to her life and actions? When every trace of the pencil shall have been obliterated, and the canvass itself shall have mouldered into dust, these will commend her name to the respect and veneration of posterity wherever christian benevolence is esteemed a virtue, or christian piety has a votary.

* See Clayton's Digest, page 463.

We have now to enter upon a new era in the history of this infant settlement; and a new current of events claim our attention. The prudence, wisdom and good conduct of General Oglethorpe had realized the most sanguine expectations, in engaging and retaining the Indians in the interest of England. But the territory of Georgia was claimed by the king of Spain, and this colony was the source of increasing jealousy with the Spaniards of Florida. General Oglethorpe, sensible of the tendency of this feeling, and anxious for the safety of the colony, went to England in the latter part of the year 1736, and procured a regiment to be raised, of which he was appointed colonel, with the rank of general and commander-in-chief of the forces of South Carolina and Georgia. Difficulties between the courts of Madrid and St. James continuing unadjusted, war was formally declared by England against Spain in 1739. Oglethorpe received instructions to commence offensive operations against Florida and to exert his power of annoyance. The invasion of Florida, in the summer of 1740, and an unsuccessful attempt upon St. Augustine followed.

After suffering many hardships from disease and exposure, and losing nearly a whole company of Highlanders surprised at Fort Moosa, this siege was raised; and Oglethorpe returned to Frederica. The scene of action was soon to be shifted, and Georgia in turn was invaded by the Spaniards. Restored to the freedom of the seas, by the withdrawal of the British fleet under Admiral Vernon from the West Indies, the Spaniards in 1742 fitted out a large armament at Havana destined for the conquest of Georgia; which, being strengthened by the forces at St. Augustine, entered St. Simon's sound with thirty-two sail carrying five thousand men. The garrison at Frederica consisted of but six hundred and ninety men and some Indians. A dark and portentous cloud now lowered over this feeble colony, threatening to burst upon it with overwhelming ruin. The destiny of Georgia and the fate of Carolina were involved in the result. The enemy entered the river Alatamaha, cut off all supplies from the garrison, hoisted the red flag at the mizzen mast of their largest ship, debarked upon the island, erected a battery and mounted twenty eighteen pounders.

The General perceived and appreciated his situation; he determined, in the face of this overwhelming force, to main-

tain his position and act defensively. The haughty Don ordered his detachments to march to the attack of Frederica — but they had to pass “deep morasses and dark thickets lined with fierce Indians and wild Highlanders,” * and many a Spaniard who penetrated these wilds never emerged from them. In these repeated conflicts the enemy were always repulsed with great loss of men, and some of their best officers. Oglethorpe, learning from a prisoner that the forces from Havannah and St. Augustine encamped separately, conceived the bold design of surprising one of these encampments in the night; almost at the moment of attack he was disappointed by one of his men, who ran off, fired his gun and gave the alarm. The General's embarrassment was now greatly increased from an apprehension that the deserter would discover his weakness to the enemy. His ingenuity supplied the means of escape. He addressed a letter to the deserter desiring him to acquaint the enemy with the defenceless state of Frederica, and how easily they might cut him and his small garrison to pieces. He urged him as his spy to bring them on the attack and assure them of success; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more, within which time, he would be reinforced with two thousand land forces and six British ships of war. This letter was entrusted to a Spanish prisoner to be delivered to the deserter, but who, as was foreseen, placed it in the hands of the commander-in-chief. While the Spaniards were deliberating how to interpret the letter, fortunately, three vessels, which the governor of South Carolina had despatched, appeared off the coast. This, seeming to confirm the contents of the letter, ended their deliberations and struck such a panic into the Spanish army that they immediately embarked, having set fire to their fort, and leaving a quantity of military stores and provisions with several pieces of cannon. Thus, by the firmness, skill and ingenuity of the General, was the colony rescued from the impending danger of total destruction.

The tempest which threatened to sweep her from existence had ineffectually spent itself, and was succeeded by the joys and gratulations of the colony. A high sense of

* Hewatt.

the character and signally good conduct of the General, upon this trying occasion, was entertained and abundantly manifested by the different provinces through the many complimentary epistles addressed to General Oglethorpe by their respective governors.

We approach the termination of General Oglethorpe's administration in Georgia. Having spent eleven years of his life in settling and defending the colony, during which time he had exercised a sole control over its affairs, he was now about to leave it, never to return to Georgia. He had watched over it with paternal solicitude and care — he had encountered the severest hardships and exposed himself to disease and dangers of every kind in its defence. He sailed for England in 1743, leaving behind him a character combining all that was lovely in generosity, benevolence and philanthropy, with the sterner attributes of the soldier. At the tender age of thirteen Oglethorpe entered the army as an ensign. He was soon a lieutenant in the guards of Queen Anne, and afterwards an aid of the Earl of Peterborough. Between the ages of seventeen and eighteen he passed over to the continent; and upon the recommendations of the Dukes of Argyle and Marlboro' was received into service by the invincible imperial General, Prince Eugene. He was with the Prince in the great battle at Petuwarden on the Danube, in which fifty thousand troops of the imperial army encountered and defeated one hundred and fifty thousand Turks under the Grand Viser Ali. He was also with him at the great battle and taking of Belgrade, where the Turks were again signally defeated and overthrown.

His distinguished gallantry and chivalric bearing upon these great occasions commended him to the notice of the Prince, who received him into his military family. It was upon this vast theatre, and under this great captain, that young Oglethorpe was schooled in the art of war. The chivalry and military capacity of the youthful soldier had not been impaired by time, but uniting with his strong benevolence of soul, was now, at this later period in Georgia, nobly exerted for the benefit and happiness of mankind.

Upon the restoration of peace on the continent of Europe, Oglethorpe returned to England and entered Oxford; where he successfully sought to retrieve the interruption in his education occasioned by his early devotion to military life. At

the age of twenty-four he was returned a member of the British parliament, where those great and virtuous traits of character, originating in the heart, were soon displayed, which commanded for him, through life, the admiration of mankind.

We may not compare this justly distinguished man with the great captains of modern Europe. His family adherence to the house of Stuart deprived him of those opportunities of advancement, necessary to mature and display his military capacity and character. But where every point of comparison would fail, it may not be uninteresting to sketch a contrast.

Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest man of his age and the first captain the world ever saw. At the head of the French army he overcame the barriers which nature opposed to his progress, and, like Hannibal of old, from the summit of the Alps, regaled his exhausted troops with a view of the verdant vales and fertile fields of beautiful Italy.* He passed into Egypt, and the crescent waned at his approach. From the banks of the Nile he returned to the banks of the Seine, and the Directory was dissolved. In a few months he gave a permanency and power to the consular government which commanded the recognition and respect of the world. He assumed the imperial purple, and kingdoms became his territories and monarchs his subjects. He marched into Russia, and all human opposition vanished — the elements of nature combined to check his career, and the snows of the north were alone able to cool the impetuous ardor of his vaulting ambition. With an army of new recruits he manœuvred and battled with the combined hosts of Europe. Yesterday a prisoner at Elba, an Emperor to day in the palace of the Tuilleries. Truly Bonaparte was the greatest man of his age, and the first captain the world ever saw. He may have done much for France. He gave her a constitution and a code of laws. He beautified her with the labors of art, and adorned her with the splendid relics of the ancient masters of genius — rich trophies of his triumphant victories. Still, Bonaparte was a warrior and a conqueror, and the glory which encircled him was won by the shrieks and tears, and the wreath which adorned his brow was dyed in the blood of Europe. He closed his days a solitary captive on a lonely and distant isle of the ocean.

* Livy, Bisset.

I can conceive of some act of unassuming benevolence, some balm of consolation poured into the wounded spirit of a single sufferer; some delicate sympathy exerted for the relief of a suffering family — I can conceive of a yet more enlarged and extended benevolence, busying itself with the distressed of a whole community; of a nature so big with philanthropy as to extend its sympathies to suffering humanity, wherever within the range of its noble efforts wretchedness was found. Yes, I can conceive of such principles and such actions that would have conferred upon Napoleon Bonaparte more deserved fame, and handed down his name to posterity with a higher claim to its gratitude and veneration, than all the splendors of his military achievements, and all the trophies of his conspicuous victories.

These will be found to constitute the enviable basis upon which is erected the fame of the founder of Georgia. These will transmit his memory with an unfailing claim to the admiration of posterity.

He penetrated the recesses of the dungeons of England and gave life and liberty to many a suffering captive — he searched into their abuses, and humanity and kindness succeeded to cruelty and oppression — he dragged before the public the authors of these outrages, and the rigors of legal confinement became tempered with mercy. With paternal affection he gathered together the poor and destitute of his own country, and the wandering exile from Germany, the victims of religious intolerance; — with these he crossed the Atlantic and became in this western world the founder of a new State. Abandoning the honors and pleasures of the first court in Europe, he devoted the best years of his life to the interests and happiness of those whose welfare he had espoused. In this cause he expended a large portion of his fortune. To encourage the settlers to labor, he wielded with them the implements of labor — to protect them against the effects of French and Spanish intrigues upon the natives, he travelled four hundred miles through a desert wilderness without a path to guide or a house to lodge him, that he might drink with the Indian warrior the *safkey* and smoke the pipe of peace.* He legislated for them — he fought their battles — he never forgot them. When at the period

* His visit to the Coweta Towns.

of the Revolution the sword of England was tendered to him to subdue the American colonies, he refused to accept it, unless the ministry would authorize him to assure the colonies that justice would be done them. He used, upon this occasion, the memorable language: "I know the people of America well; they never will be subdued by arms, but their obedience will ever be secured by doing them justice." Thus replied Oglethorpe, and Lord Howe became the commander of the British forces for America. He raised his voice against the slave trade long before the efforts of Wilberforce were commenced.

He was the advocate in the British parliament of a constitutional militia, and for the abolition of arbitrary impressment for the navy. He exemplified, in an eminent degree, the great principle of charity and brotherly love, which characterized the craft of which he was a brother; for Oglethorpe was a mason. Possessed of knowledge, wealth and rank, he devoted his talents, influence and fortune to the relief of the sufferer and the happiness of his fellow creatures.

Rich in every blessing himself, his benevolence for others "will challenge a parallel in the history of human life." Such was James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia. The evening of his life was spent in the quiet of domestic enjoyment in his native land. He became a patron of literature, and a friend of genius. The learned sought his association, enjoying the pleasures of intellect, and participating in the easy and elegant hospitality of his mansion. Orators proclaimed his worth in the senate; and the finest poets of England celebrated in song his virtues. The active, brilliant, enterprising and useful morning of life, was succeeded by an evening calm and serene as the western sun when he sets without a cloud to obscure him.

At the close of Oglethorpe's administration we suspend the consideration of the progress of the colony, very briefly to examine the principles of government and the regulations adopted by the Trustees, together with their practical bearing and consequences upon the prosperity and growth of the province.

There is more in this inquiry to gratify our curiosity, than to instruct by furnishing materials for useful historical reflection. The advancement of the proprietary to the royal gov-

ernment had caused these regulations to be wholly superseded long before our Revolution, so as to preclude all connection between them and that event, or the institutions of the country which succeeded it. The utility of an acquaintance with the principles of government which obtained in the earlier history of a country is, chiefly, by the contrast which is furnished, by a comparison with its present institutions, exciting to a more lively appreciation of their value and importance.

There is but little room here for such observations, until we arrive at the period of the royal government. Our inquiry will, however, serve to illustrate the necessity of an adaptation and fitness of laws to the actual circumstances and condition of the people upon whom they are to operate; to shew, that the only intelligible and authoritative rule of government, to a people, is that which harmonizes with their condition; and that the introduction of a new system, however specious in theory, unaccommodated to those circumstances, unsupported by established practice, and conflicting with surrounding example, cannot be beneficially maintained.

The successive changes experienced in the political condition of the nations of Europe, and more particularly of England, between the darkness of the eleventh century and the bright morning which dawned upon the world at the commencement of the fifteenth, were but consequences of their changing circumstances. The relaxation of the feudal tenures; the substitution of pecuniary rents for personal services; the introduction and extension of leases; the abolition of the villeinage state; the vacillation of power between the aristocracy and the monarch; the finally growing importance of the commons, — were all changes in their political regulations accommodating the government to the improved circumstances and condition of the people, resulting from the gradual increase of knowledge, the introduction of, and greater attention bestowed upon the useful arts, agriculture, manufactures and commerce; and from an improved jurisprudence, resulting from the accidental discovery of a copy of Justinian's Pandects.

And here it is curious to remark, that when that long night, which overwhelmed in darkness the civilized world, approached, and began to throw its lengthening shadows around — when the lights of science began to burn dimly —

when philosophy had become sophistry, and poetry and history barbarous, "the lawyers by the constant study and close imitation of their predecessors, were yet able to maintain the same good sense in their decisions and reasonings, and the same purity in their language and expression." * And as the science of the law was thus the last light extinguished amid the universal gloom, so it was the first, at returning dawn, that emitted its rays to illumine and cheer a benighted world. A review of this portion of European history would demonstrate the necessity, in order that the machine of government should work well, of adapting and accommodating their political institutions to the condition and circumstances of the people. The failure of the fundamental constitution devised by the great philosopher John Locke, whose aid was invoked by the proprietors of South Carolina, when at a distance from, and ignorant of the climate and true situation, condition and wants of the people of Carolina, furnishes an illustration more closely in point; and imparted a lesson, which the Trustees of Georgia were constrained to learn, by a similar result of their benevolent and apparently judicious theory. The causes of difficulty may be embraced under three heads:—1st. The tenure upon which the lands were granted; 2d. The means of cultivation; 3d. The articles of culture.

1st. The grant was in tail male, so that upon the death of the tenant leaving only daughters, the land reverted to the Trustees. The monstrous injustice of this principle of Salic law, so revolting to the best feelings and affections of our nature, renders its adoption and application, as a public law designed to regulate the inheritance of private property, in an agricultural and commercial colony, by civilized and enlightened lawgivers, a subject of wonder and astonishment—a principle, as applied to private possessions, which finds little precedent or support among enlightened and civilized nations; and which refers for example, chiefly to the barbarous nations by whom the Roman empire was overwhelmed. The exclusion of females from succession existed among the Teutonic nations, and was found in the ancient codes of the Thuringians and Saxons. The Salian Francks, who conquered Gaul, carried this custom with them; and the Salic

* Hume.

law was supposed to have been enacted about the time of Clavis. But even by this law there existed a right of setting aside the law and admitting females to succession by testament.* This provision was supported, however, by two plausible reasons, viz. the great expense at which the Trustees had effected the settlement of the colony; and the necessity that the occupants should be persons capable of rendering military service for its protection against the Spaniards and Indians. But the freedom and security of property, and the absolute nature of the title is the strongest incentive to activity and industry; whilst an uncertain and contingent tenure paralyzes effort and limits our views and exertions only to the present.

With regard to the means of cultivation, slavery was absolutely prohibited, and the settlers had to rely upon their own labor. The inhibition of slavery resulted from the relative position Georgia was intended to bear towards South Carolina as a protection against the Spaniards and Indians; the better to fulfil which, it was deemed important to introduce this restriction; and also, because a large portion of the settlers were poor and unable to procure slaves, it was thought that the influence of the example of slavery would be unfavorable upon the industry of that portion of the whites who were thus constrained to personal labor. 3d. As a consequence of the prohibition of slavery, and the necessity of personal labor by the whites, as also from a supposed adaptedness of soil and climate the Trustees had fixed upon silk and wine as leading articles of culture, from which the most profitable results were anticipated. These restrictions tended greatly to paralyze the energy and industry of the colonists. The example furnished from South Carolina, where the lands were holden in fee and cultivated by slaves, was contagious and fatal.

The Georgians beheld their neighbors in the indulgence of the ease and enjoying the advantages of slave labor, and they thirsted for the same benefits and privileges. Confined to a culture of which they had no sufficient knowledge and experience, and from which they reaped no equivalent return for their labor and care, while their rich low lands remained neglected and uncultivated, they longed for the assistance of that species of force by which they could reclaim them.

* See Hallam.

They saw the cultivated plantations of Carolina descending for the general benefit of families, or capable of being devised, and they revolted at the idea that the fruits of their labor and improvements should revert, while their widows and daughters were left unprovided for.

While such were the effects upon the settlers, the influence of these restrictions upon the colony was yet more extensive, by deterring the wealthy from settling in Georgia and directing their emigration principally to South Carolina, where the inducements were so much stronger. The influence of these combined causes greatly retarded the progress and growth of the colony and defeated the sanguine anticipations of the trustees and mother country. Silk, the favorite pursuit of the Trustees, so long neglected in Georgia, after the lapse of more than a century is now beginning to attract general attention, and whether we undertake to become manufacturers, or be considered as merely the growers and producers of the raw material, is doubtless destined to bring again into utility our exhausted soils, to furnish suitable employment for weak and infirm laborers and greatly to increase the wealth and capital of our state. Abundant cause, it is true, may be found in the inaptitude and hostility of entails to the genius and character of our republican institutions, to have produced the constitutional provision in Georgia prohibiting them; but as the most important measures are frequently traced to remote and faint causes, it is not improbable, that the early prejudices created here on this subject may have had considerable agency in producing that inhibition.

The retirement of General Oglethorpe was succeeded by the appointment of a President and Council. The colony still continued to languish, and no material alteration occurred in its condition for a series of years. Even this period of its history is however not without its interest; and many thrilling events are recorded, illustrative of the difficulties and dangers by which the colonists were surrounded, and the firmness and character by which they were encountered. One event in particular transpired, which is worthy of notice, because it severely tested the President* and Council, threatened the destruction of the colony, and brought it to the

* William Stephens was then President.

brink of ruin. In the treaties which had been ratified with the Indians, the islands of St. Catherines, Ossabaw and Sapelo were reserved as hunting grounds to the Indians. A man named Thomas Bosomworth who came to Georgia as chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, married an Indian woman named Mary, formerly an interpreter for Oglethorpe. This man, stimulated by his cupidity, was induced to claim the reserved islands in right of his wife.

He tampered with the Indians by artful misrepresentations of the intentions of the English, and succeeded in prevailing with them to acknowledge his wife as queen of the upper and lower Creeks. She marched upon Savannah with a host of Indians, chiefs and warriors, and demanded the immediate surrender of all the lands south of Savannah, under the threat, in case of refusal, of the extirpation of the colony. The whole force of the town, amounting to only one hundred and seventy men capable of bearing arms, were called out. The inhabitants were in the greatest consternation and alarm — the inflamed savages roamed through the streets menacing hostility. The utmost firmness and prudence were now necessary to manage this delicate affair, and prevent extremities; fortunately, these were not wanting. Bosomworth and Mary being privately seized were put into close confinement: while the Indians were collected and addressed by the President, and every mode of conciliation tried. The President undertook to distribute presents among them, and the flattering hope of an amicable termination began to be indulged, when suddenly Mary, released from confinement, rushed in among the Indians and again inflamed them to hostility. Malatche, an Indian chief, started from his seat, seized his arms and called upon the rest to follow his example. Instantly hundreds of uplifted tomahawks threatened the President and Council with immediate death — universal tumult and confusion pervaded the whole house. At this critical moment a bold and gallant officer,* commander of the guards, followed by his men well armed, threw himself into the door and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms. This display of courage, sustained by ready preparation for immediate action, procured a reluctant submission from the Indians. Mary was

* Captain Jones.

confined under a guard and all access to her denied. The Indians were finally prevailed on peaceably to retire, and the colony was thus relieved by its firmness and intrepidity, from this appalling danger.

In the year 1750 the restrictions respecting the titles to land were removed, and a colonial assembly was authorized. In 1752 the trustees resigned their charter and the province became a royal government, admitted to all the privileges and liberties enjoyed by the neighboring provinces. Its progress was still retarded by the weakness and insufficiency of several administrators ; and it was not until the appointment of Sir James Wright as Governor of Georgia that she emerged from the long state of depression into which she had sunk, became sensible of her vast resources, and of the means of bringing them into activity and usefulness. The rich and fertile low lands and river swamps were now reclaimed and brought into cultivation — her agriculture assumed a new aspect, and her commerce advanced progressively with it upon a broader and more expanded scale. The planter, animated with his prospects, gave new vigor to his industry and exertions, while the capital of England was freely brought to his aid through an extensive credit system, as confidence was established in the rapidly advancing prospects and ultimate success of the colony.

In this prosperous state we leave the colony for a while, to glance at one or two topics which merit a passing notice. The aborigines of this continent have always constituted a fruitful subject of interest and curious investigation. At the settlement of Georgia, the territory embraced within the charter, was inhabited by hordes of savages, known as the Muscogee or Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws and the Choctaws. They were all characterized by similar habits, customs and pursuits, although in fact distinguished as nations, (if nations they might be called,) or distinct communities by the foregoing appellations. The Creeks occupied the sea board and neighboring country, and were in the possession of that portion of Georgia first occupied by the settlers.

They have a tradition among them, that they came from the west — that, being distressed by wars with other Indian tribes, they crossed the Mississippi, directing their course eastwardly, and settled below the falls of Chattahoochee ;

from whence they spread out to Ockmulgee, Oconee, Savannah, and down on the sea coast of Carolina, where they first met with the whites.

As it regards their civil and political condition, there was nothing among any of these tribes which bore the semblance of an established government. They lived gregariously, as wandering hunters, without unity or compact as a people; and with no other ideas of laws than such as were confined to a few immemorial customs. Each distinct community was again divided into tribes or families; many of which families inhabited together the same town. Each tribe being distinguished by some appellative usually derived from the brute creation or vegetable world, as the eagle or bear tribe, &c.

Individuals of the same tribe were not permitted to intermarry. The chief civil office in each town was by hereditary succession in some one tribe; but as that succession was always in the female line, so in process of time it passed through the different tribes. In the centre of the town was the public square, surrounded by the houses of their chief, warriors, and assistant counsellors or beloved men. Within this square their council fires blazed, their solemn business was transacted, and the dance was had.

The civil government was in the hands of their Micco and beloved men, by whom was appointed their great warrior or ruler of military affairs, with the power of declaring war and determining upon its continuance. Their marriages were principally adjusted by the female members of the families of the respective parties; but it was an indispensable requisite on the part of the suitor, that he should have made his hunt, gathered his crop, and built his house. The privilege of punishing for murder was reserved to the tribe or family of the injured party; who sometimes accepted a pecuniary compensation, analogous to the *weregild* or composition for homicide which obtained among the ancient Francks; or, in case of flight, resorted to the next of kin.

Their notions of religion were exceedingly vague. Yet they were not destitute of an idea of some Supreme Being whom they denominated a *master of breath* — a God, therefore, in whom they lived and moved and had their being. They fixed his residence in the clear sky, and believed that there were two with him, three in all.

Such was the condition of the aborigines within the chartered limits of Georgia when our ancestors arrived here.*

Where is the posterity of the red man who once inhabited this land, now so changed by the meliorating hand of civilization, industry and art? There is a melancholy sentiment pervading our bosoms in the contemplation of their story and destiny. It is the destiny of the law of nations; ignorance and savagism must yield to the superior power of light, knowledge and civilization. It is the destiny of an inscrutable providence.

Endowed with a nature, and established in habits immutable as nature, which defy the influence of civilization and the admission of improvement, they stand in the creation of God's intelligent beings, unapproachable for purposes of change and melioration; they present the spectacle of a "moral phenomenon," at which we wonder, and for whom we sympathize, but over whose destiny we have no control. It seems to be fixed by the law of their nature, by the wisdom of an inscrutable providence.

It is honorable to human nature that their fate should have awakened the attention and excited the sympathy of this great Republic.

But by the universal consent of European nations making discovery on this continent, the common principle was adopted, that such discovery conferred title.

The charters conferred by the crown of Great Britain granted the absolute domain and right of jurisdiction. But the application of the principle before stated, however admitted as between the discoverers, has been denied towards the aborigines — and notwithstanding the terms of the charter the Indian right of occupancy has been respected; and Georgia, like most of her sister States, have acquired that right by purchase and cession.

The neglect and failure of the general government to extinguish the admitted right of Indian occupancy under the compact of 1802, and the subsequent extension of her laws by the State over the territory occupied by the Cherokees, has furnished a theme for reproach, not authorized by the conduct of the State under the circumstances in which she

* I have collected these facts principally from a copy of Col. Hawkins's manuscript, taken by the late Gen. John Floyd, and presented to our Society by Gen. Charles Floyd. Many of these original writings of Col. Hawkins have now been procured by the Society.

was placed — circumstances, so strongly evincive of her great forbearance towards this peculiar people, and patience under entire neglect by the general government, as ought in themselves to have shielded her from the aspersions to which she has been subjected. It never could have been seriously contemplated by any reflecting and intelligent mind, that a permanent Indian government should be established within the chartered limits of any one of the States. The idea would have been chimerical, and is repudiated by public policy, by example and by necessity. France and Spain, from their earliest settlements in North America, adopted the policy of considering the Indians in a state of pupilage, extending over them their protection and care ; by this policy they avoided the embarrassments of the English system. Great Britain in the Canadas, the government of the United States, and all the older States, among whom fragments of Indian tribes remained, were ultimately constrained to the adoption of the same policy, and enacted statutes for their protection and restraint. The very compact of 1802 between Georgia and the general government, illustrates the fact, that the idea first suggested was never entertained by the national government. The fullness of the example derived from other States is attempted to be diminished, upon the distinction, that the remnants of their tribes had ceased to exercise the right and power of self government. But when that point of weakness and degradation has been attained, which will authorize the extension of the local law over them, and by whom it is to be ascertained and determined, are questions which have not been solved. Contemplate the Indian character — without an established government of their own, without a knowledge and recognition of general principles to regulate and restrain them ; reared in a fondness for war and blood — familiar with cruelties and revenge, without moral influences and without religious principles — untamed and untutored ; incapable of being softened and instructed — It is obvious that such a people could not sustain a near approach to, and contact with the whites, without rendering the position of both intolerable, and imperiously requiring the superior power to restrain and control the weaker.

The dictates of humanity too, instead of being violated, unite with the former considerations in enforcing the propri-

ety of controlling or removing them. For in the approximation of the two races, both physical and moral causes have operated to diminish and annihilate the latter, and to render essential a guardianship over them. The American people have not been indifferent to their improvement; the charities of Christianity have not slumbered over this unfortunate race. Efforts have been fruitlessly made, and different means and agencies in vain employed. The Cherokees of Georgia have formed no essential exception to the universal failure. Glowing descriptions have indeed been given of their rapid march in civilization. But we have the testimony of those best acquainted, and most to be relied on, that notwithstanding individual instances of decided improvement and advancement, the great body of the tribe remained, despite of all efforts, unchanged and unchangeable. They have gone forever from the land of their fathers to occupy the regions of the far and distant west. We lament their condition, we regret their fate, we are unable to explain the mysteries of Providence towards them.

Another topic, which seems to me to call for a passing notice, results from the institution of slavery among us. With the abstract question of slavery I have nothing to do here. The institution rests upon the constitution and laws of the land; and there, we trust, the sense and intelligence and patriotism of the nation will permit it to repose in safety, notwithstanding the chimerical and visionary abstract speculations with which the country has latterly been so wantonly agitated. My business with this subject is limited to quite a different purpose. It is an historical fact, to which we have already alluded, that at the settlement of Georgia slavery was inhibited; and it is equally true, that, with some exceptions,* our ancestry were urgent and solicitous in their reiterated appeals to the Trustees for its introduction. My object is to vindicate their conduct on this point; and place them in the position they are entitled to occupy. Properly to estimate their course, it is necessary to look at the state of the public mind on this subject in that day; to look at it with the lights which then existed, and in intimate connection with the circumstances and relations in which the colony of Georgia

* The Highlanders at Darien, and the Germans at Ebenezer, opposed it, and presented counter petitions.

found itself. We live in a world of changing opinions and of increasing light and knowledge. At the period to which we are referring, the slave trade, now universally and justly condemned by all civilized nations, was as universally tolerated by all. England, who, under the persevering and active labors of a Wilberforce, led the way in the great work of suppressing this odious traffic, was then most active in peopling her colonies, wherever they were needed, with slaves. The vast operations of missionary associations for evangelizing the world, which we behold at this day, had not been conceived. It is true that some small and slender associations for this purpose had commenced in England more than a century ago, but these were only the beginnings of a system, the developements of which had not entered into the conceptions of the Christian world. Good and pious men were appealed to on this subject. They looked upon Africa sunk in the darkness of midnight and paganism. They were enabled to realize no access to her, no means of reaching her, no hope for her from the light of the Gospel. They adopted the conclusion, that their condition would be better by being introduced into civilized and Christian communities; where notwithstanding they were required to labor, they might be kindly treated and instructed and enlightened in the knowledge of the truth. Our ancestors were placed here in a country peculiarly and primarily adapted to agriculture, with the example before their eyes of the existence and toleration of the system in all of the elder colonies. I submit, that it was the natural result of these causes combined, that they should have desired to participate in the benefits of a system then justified by the opinion of the world, of the mother country and the example of her sister colonies. We ask only for an equality of position on this subject; and are willing to assume our full proportion of responsibility and accountability to which we may be held by the opinions of the day, so unwarrantably intruded upon the country, at the hazard of its happiness and repose.

We left the colonists, after years of languor and despondency, prosperous and flourishing. The Spaniard had been driven back into his strong hold — the Indian had been subdued by friendly intercourse and kindness, or repelled in his hostile attacks, had been compelled to sue for peace.

They were now to encounter an enemy of a different cha-

racter and of vast resources and power; and to endure a conflict more terrible than any they had known. That enemy was the parent country from whom they sprung; that conflict their great Revolutionary struggle.

Of the causes which led to this extraordinary result I may not speak; they are contained in that undying instrument, the Declaration of Independence — they are interwoven with the national history. Nor may I enter into details of the long and bloody war which followed. They have been eloquently delineated in many a patriotic address dedicated to the celebration of our national anniversary jubilee. The situation of Georgia, however, in the commencement of this struggle was peculiar, and merits notice. She was the youngest and feeblest of the colonies. The number of her white inhabitants small and scattered, in the midst of a large slave population. Her frontier was occupied by powerful tribes of warlike savages; and a royal governor presided over her councils of great talents and energy, and whose course of administration had commended him to the esteem of the people. In such circumstances, it required stout hearts and ardent devotion to liberty to plunge at once into the vortex of revolution. That plunge was however made.

What means that shout that rends the air and strikes with amazement upon the senses of the royal governor? A liberty-pole stands erect in the streets of Savannah, and Tondee's tavern reëchoes with the cheers of a band of noble republicans, willing martyrs, if need be, in the cause of liberty.

The arrival of General Gates in Boston with a British fleet and army, and the events which immediately followed, lighted the torch of revolution and resistance, which, blazing through the colonies, flamed as purely and brightly in Georgia as among the patriotic sons of liberty in New England. The magazine in this city was immediately seized in the dead of night by a party of gentlemen, and the powder conveyed away and secured in their own houses. A ship, then recently from England, under command of captain Maitland lying at Tybee, was approached by a party of men in two boats, taken, and thirteen thousand pounds of powder obtained — five thousand pounds of which were sent to the inhabitants of Boston.* The provincial house of assembly ordered the

* These boats were commanded by Com. Bowen and Col Joseph Habersham.

arrest of Governor Wright; that order was immediately executed by volunteers raised and commanded by a youthful but devoted son of liberty.* The Governor was paroled to his house, from whence he escaped in the night, and took refuge on board a British armed ship lying at Tybee.

Such were the energetic and spirited measures immediately taken in Savannah by her republican and patriotic sons, at the commencement of difficulty with England. The spirit of resistance, awakened throughout the country, had not, as yet, looked beyond a redress of grievances. But these decided and bold measures betokened a higher aim, and excited the public feeling to a preparation for it. The word "*Independence*" began to be whispered — at first with caution, and only by the bold and decided; but it soon burst forth in the noble instrument which announced to the world their wrongs and proclaimed their separation from the British Crown. It was reëchoed from Massachusetts to Georgia with an emphasis that startled the monarch on his throne, and arrayed against infant America, the mighty power and vast resources of old England. Now was fairly commenced that mighty conflict, which, amidst all the eventful vicissitudes and appalling discouragements of so unequal a contest, was destined to terminate only, when the British lion had crouched beneath the talons of the American eagle.

Liberty, banished from her ancient habitations, an exile and a wanderer on the continent of Europe, took a temporary refuge under the limited monarchy of England; but as a Hampden fell, and the life-blood of a Sidney flowed, she uttered the shriek of despair, and crossing the ocean, sought an asylum on these western shores. Her enemies pursued her here, and threatened her extermination from the earth. For seven long years nourished and sustained by the blood of heroes and patriots and martyrs, behold her now more beautiful and lovely than ever, and enraptured with the land which had so freely sacrificed in her cause, she has, as we fondly hope, forever fixed her abode in these United States.

Will that cherished hope be realized? Interesting inquiry! interesting to the present generation, to posterity, to the world. Our fathers rested not when they had achieved their independence — they labored to secure it, and to transmit

* Colonel Habersham.

its blessings to their descendants. They were not less conspicuous for the wisdom of their counsels in the cabinet, than distinguished for their heroic valor and fortitude in the field. If they had encircled their brows with honor and glory as heroes and warriors, they added an undying immortality to their names as legislators. They erected a government, very far surpassing any model, which the world had known in practical operation.

By the introduction of the federative and representative principles, they accommodated a republican system to the difficult operation of regulating an extended territory, with a population of different and sometimes jarring interests. By surrounding it with all the checks and balances which human ingenuity could devise, they endeavored to provide for its security. By the recognition of the fundamental principle that sovereignty abides in the people, and thus constituting them the source of all legitimate power, they infused into it a recuperative energy, a resuscitating principle. The people are thus constituted the arbiters of their own destiny.

And the argument is founded on sound basis which supposes, that a departure, in the administration of government from its great first principles, operating injuriously to the interests of the people, will ultimately find its corrective in this renovating feature of the government. Many causes may lead us to aberrate far from the path of duty and happiness — the conflicts of sectional interests, the impulses of ungoverned ambition, the excitements of party — but still, the tendency of this principle will be to restore us. Its force and power, however, depend upon, and essentially imply requisite qualifications in the people. These are mainly virtue and knowledge. How great, in this respect, is our preëminence over the once splendid but fallen republics of antiquity? The lights of science indeed beamed upon them; but they were destitute of that better knowledge which illuminates our moral nature, and subdues the mighty powers of intellect and mind beneath the controlling influence of virtue. The history of much later periods exhibits the progress of human improvement darkened with many shades, and the perversion of the highest attainments in science and knowledge to the destruction of the foundations of social order and happiness. The eighteenth century, in the example and fate of continental Europe, furnishes a memorable

lesson to the world of the awful consequences of a separation between the lights of philosophy and the obligations of religion ; and demonstrates the necessity, that the monument erected to science should be placed at the side of an altar erected to the Deity. We are professedly a Christian people, and if our country is destined to escape the dangers which wrecked the ancient republics, to survive the shock of time, and continue a blessing to her people, and an example for good to the nations of the earth, it will be mainly owing to the fact, that we are a Christian people.

Far preëminent too, over the ancients is our position with regard to the means of diffusing that degree of intelligence and education among all classes of the people, necessary to a correct apprehension of the nature of our government, and the exercise of a proper judgment upon its administration. I allude to that expanded system of public and free schools, so universally adopted in our country ; and, to the mighty power introduced by the art of printing and a public press. It is not the eminence attained, in particular departments of the sciences, that is involved in our present reflections. This is confined in all countries to a few favored geniuses. It is a more humble degree, but a general diffusion of knowledge we are contemplating.

The three great departments of active industry and productive labor, agriculture, manufactures and commerce, are constantly tending to augment the wealth and power of the country, and thus add to the stability and perpetuity of the government. The very collisions which these sometimes conflicting interests create, have reacted on the administration with a purifying influence. Whilst the vastly increasing population of our country, with its consequent increased demands upon each of these departments, must ere long place them respectively beyond the necessity of legislative protection, and enable each to flourish by its own unaided strength.

The spirit of improvement in our country has taken a sound and healthful direction. The republics and empires of antiquity, and the despotic governments of more modern times, employed much of their superabundant wealth in the erection of splendid ornaments, exciting a false and vicious taste, and provoking the national pride and vanity into an admiration for delusive, unreal and unsubstantial objects. An hundred generations the leaves of autumn have dropt

into the grave, and yet the pyramids stand erect and unbroken above the floods of the Nile.* But what is the country, and where are the civil and political institutions of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies? Alas! these useless monuments survive only to admonish us of the folly and vanity of human pride and ambition.

Where is Rome, with all *her* splendid monuments of greatness and wealth? Where her temples, her columns, her colossal statues, her amphitheatres? Alas! the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the triumphal monuments of Cæsar and the Antonines have tottered from their foundations. These stupendous exhibitions of magnificence, wealth and genius, contained nothing to renovate the decaying youth and revive the drooping virtues of a falling state, or to vanquish the injuries of time and fate.

They were idle and barren monuments of parade, oppressive to the generations by whom they were raised, without a redeeming quality of good to posterity. Utility is impressed in living images upon all the enterprizes and improvements of our country — to this great purpose the genius of her people, and her resources, both individual and public, are bent with an energy and perseverance productive of the grandest results to the happiness, power and durability of our country and her institutions. A wholesome and moral tone is imparted to the public taste and feeling, which strengthens, while it purifies. Here no pyramids, of gigantic proportions, will lift their towering summits to the skies — no coliseum, with its huge bulk, cumber the earth — no Ephesian, no Roman temple, of gorgeous magnificence, will violate the simplicity and humility of our holy worship. The splendid monuments of the wisdom and enterprize of this age, and of this country in particular, which will be transmitted for the happiness as well as admiration of posterity, will consist in the trophies of genius won by its amazing inventions in the useful arts; and in those vast and grand works of internal improvement which, linking together the distant parts of our wide-spread territory, and abridging that distance by easy and rapid communication, will cultivate familiar personal acquaintance and knowledge, produce

* Gibbon.

identity of interests, and, by instructing us in our reciprocal dependence, strengthen and perpetuate the bond of our national union. These monuments will consist in that expanded system of general and public education, to which so much of the wealth of the country has been applied, for the enlightenment of mind and diffusion of knowledge, "the palladium of a free government, the guaranty of the representative system, and the ægis of our federative existence."*

These are some of the considerations, which sustain our hope, in the strength and perpetuity of our government and institutions. Yet, when we contemplate the delicate relations which exist in our complex system, and the nice equipoise required to preserve the several distinct governments within their respective orbits; when we look upon the discordant and jarring interests to be adjusted, and sectional jealousies to be regulated and controlled — when we reflect upon the moral corruptions, the spirit of faction, the promptings of unholy ambition incident to all free states — we may not conceal from ourselves the dangers that surround us. Our experience of the past, short and limited as it is, admonishes us that there is a reality in these suggestions; and enforces the truth of the political axiom that, "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." In that momentous period, when our safety shall be threatened; when the wild spirit of faction, like a mighty flood, bursting over the barriers that confine it, shall deluge our plains and fields, commingling "the wandering rivulet and the silver lake" in the confused roar of its disturbed and agitated waters, — oh, then let us cling to the constitution of our country — it is the ark of our political safety — it will bear us securely above the angry floods, and amidst the noise of many waters, and land us in safety at last upon another Ararat.

When mad and unrestrained ambition, unmindful of duty and of country, shall fiercely mingle in the strife for power and for place — Ah! then let the American citizen turn him to the history of his country, and on that page which records the illustrious deeds of his ancestors, he will behold a noble example of patriotism and virtue; and like the Athenian of old, in view of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, he will be subdued to a sense of the love and duty which he

* De Witt Clinton.

owes to his country. Let him meditate on the high responsibility of each succeeding generation to preserve and perpetuate to posterity the blessings of this fair fabric of government. Let him contemplate our position towards the nations of the earth, and the necessity of maintaining this last, noble, living example of freedom and self government. Let him cast his eye forward upon the unborn millions, whose destiny, for happiness or woe, hang suspended on the final issue of our grand political experiment. Let him ascend the mount of vision, and looking through the vista of the future, survey the glory and grandeur of his country, as she shall be in the remote annals of time, successfully resisting the principles of destruction, erect amid the injuries of time and fortune, the abode of happiness, the asylum of the oppressed, the light of the world. And, in the mighty anticipation may every unholy feeling be absorbed in the one great overruling sentiment of *Love* for our *Country*.

A

NEW AND ACCURATE ACCOUNT
OF THE PROVINCES OF
SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA :

*With many Curious and Useful Observations on the Trade,
Navigation, and Plantations of Great Britain,
compared with her most powerful Maritime
Neighbors in Ancient and Modern Times.*

LONDON :

1733.

THE PREFACE.

THERE have been several accounts of the provinces of Carolina published formerly ; among which, Mr. Archdale's Description of South Carolina is of most undoubted credit. Another account in the form of a letter, (first printed in the year 1710) was lately reprinted by Mr. Clarke, near the Royal Exchange. I could shew many faults in this piece, both as to facts and reasoning, but shall only mention a few that are obvious to almost every reader who has ever heard any thing of that province. The author is fawningly partial to the then administration of government there. He praises its great blemishes. He finds a beauty in their attack upon St. Augustino ; an expedition improvidently projected, and unsuccessfully attempted. He applauds their paper currency, which was a wretched expedient to salve up the wounds their little republic had received in that unhappy war : a remedy like those which our profligate young fellows frequently meet with at the hands of quack doctors, who have just skill enough in drugs to remove a clap by

establishing a pox in the room of it. If that writer had any knowledge of commerce, or history, he must have known that a forced paper credit is incompatible with trade, and never held up to par in any age or country in the world; much less could it suit the commerce of an infant colony, whose very existence (in the notion of people at a distance) was at that time precarious. I shall no farther pursue the crudities of that author; it is sufficient to observe, that if his account had been as just and accurate as Mr. Archdale's, it could not answer the expectations of the public at this time. Those treatises tell us of twenty sail of shipping, but now we can truly say that there are yearly two hundred freighted at Charles Town. The wide extent of their rice trade; the amazing increase of their stock of negroes and of cattle; and the encouraging essays they have made in wine and silk, render South Carolina a new country to the geographers. Neither of these writers is copious enough on the topic of the benefits which may arise to Great Britain by peopling this fruitful continent: that argument is therefore handled the more largely in the following pages. About two years ago, captain Purry, a Swiss gentleman, wrote* an authentic account of that country in French, which was printed at Neuchâtel in Switzerland: and to shew that he believed himself when he gave a beautiful description of South Carolina, he has gone to settle there with six hundred of his countrymen.

And he that hangs, or beats out 's brains
The devil 's in him if he feigns.

Hud.

Mr. Archdale's veracity will hardly be questioned by any but bigots, when the public shall be informed of his remarkable integrity in his own principles. He, being a quaker, was chosen into Parliament by the town of Colchester in Essex, but chose to relinquish his seat rather than violate his conscience with regard to oaths and the test act. He governed South Carolina with that moderation, that the colony blesses his memory; and their latest posterity will have cause to bless it; for, under providence they owe to him their very being.

An anonymous author ought to have vouchers for his facts.

* This is entitled, *Description Abregée de l' Etat present de la Caroline meridionale.*

I make an impartial judgment of the incorrectness of my style, and therefore cannot resolve to prefix my name to this piece: but by proper references to Mr. Archdale and Mr. Purry, I show that they concur with me in the geography and natural history of the country. The reasonings and observations are the result of various reading and conversation in many years: let these therefore stand or fall by themselves.

Since the following chapters were prepared for the press, I have read a curious pamphlet, entitled, *Select Tracts relating to Colonies, &c.*, sold by Mr. Roberts, the publisher of this essay. Those tracts were written by the most knowing men of their respective generations, and the style and matter of the introduction to them sufficiently evince the eminent abilities of the person (whoever he was) that collected them. Had I seen them earlier they would have been of singular use to me in many of my observations and arguments in the following sheets: I now must be content to pride myself in having accidentally fallen into the same way of reasoning with the great authors of those tracts.

I designed to have added a chapter containing the scheme for settling the new colony of Georgia: but, upon a revisal of an elegant piece which was published in the *Craftsman* to that effect, I thought proper to desist for my own sake. I shall only take leave here to mention a precedent of our own for planting colonies, which, perhaps, in part or in the whole, may be worthy our imitation.

England was more than four hundred years in possession of a great part of Ireland before the whole was completely conquered: the wars there, and loss of English blood were infinite, the invaders mixed and intermarried with the natives throughout the provinces, and degenerated in habit, language, customs and affections. In the days of K. James the First, the Londoners were at the charge of sending into the most dangerous part of that kingdom more than four hundred poor families. There were a city, and a town built, as had been agreed on: the city of Londonderry contained three hundred, the town of Colerain a hundred houses; these were fortified with walls and ditches, and established with most ample privileges. They send two members each to the parliament of that kingdom, and the mayor of Londonderry is always the first in the commissions of oyer and

terminer and assize. That city chooses two sheriffs as our London does, and they are of course sheriffs of the county at large, as the sheriffs of London are sheriffs of the county of Middlesex. The salmon fisheries were given to the city of London who generally receive more than a thousand pounds per annum from them. What the present house-rents of their city and town amounts to, I shall not pretend to say, but believe they make a considerable yearly sum, because the tenants have lately been too brisk bidders for each other's bargains. The city of Londonderry, and its liberties, (which I think are three miles round it) the town of Colerain and the fisheries, belong to the twelve companies of London considered as one aggregate body. There are two men chosen out of each company to make up this corporation, and, I think, they are called the London Society for the Plantation of Ulster. Besides this great estate belonging to them in one body, each company, in its own right, and by itself, has, or lately had, a large and rich manor belonging to it. One of them was lately sold for twenty thousand pounds, and I think a quit-rent of a hundred a year reserved upon it to the company forever. The Londoners have drawn above a hundred thousand pounds from that colony within ten years last past, and it is not probable that the first settlement ever cost them eight thousand pounds, which made four hundred families of their poor freemen happy, at the same time that it purchased so good an estate and strengthened the English interest in that kingdom. No other part of Ireland is now so perfectly free from the native Irish as are those two towns and their districts. The populace of Londonderry and of the adjoining country were so vigorous at the revolution as to endure a siege which has made that English colony memorable to latest posterity.

It is needless to expatiate in the just commendation of the Trustees for establishing a colony in Georgia. They have, for the benefit of mankind, given up that ease and indolence to which they were entitled by their fortunes and the too prevalent custom of their native country. They, in some degree, imitate their Redeemer in sympathizing with the miserable, and in laboring to relieve them. They take not for their pattern an epicurian deity: they set before their eyes the Giver of all good gifts, who has put it into their hearts, (and may he daily more and more enable their hands) to save multitudes of his living images from perdition.

CHAPTER I.

The Situation of Carolina, the Historical Account of it ; how far the Right to a new Country is acquired by the first Discovery ; by Occupancy ; lost by Dereliction.

THE great and beautiful country of Carolina is bounded on the north between 35 and 36 deg. of N. latitude, with Virginia and the Apalatian mountains, on the east with the Atlantic ocean, on the south about 30 deg. N. latitude, with part of the Atlantic, or gulf of Florida, and with Florida, and on the west its extent is unknown. All the charters, or patents of our kings that describe its bounds, have carried it westward in a direct line as far as the South Seas.

The Spaniards formerly included it all under the general name of Florida, and pretended a right to it by virtue of the pope's donation, as indeed they did to all America. The French, in the days of their Charles the IXth, made a little settlement there by the countenance and encouragement of admiral Coligny ; but the civil wars in France prevented him from taking due care of it, and it came to nothing. He made a second, but almost all his men were murdered by the Spaniards after quarter given ; and the French king did not resent it, probably because they were protestants. It is not unlikely that the admiral's view in sending these colonies was to secure a retreat for himself and the rest of the reformed in case they were conquered in France.

The Spaniards by injustice and cruelty provoked the Indians, and prepared them for the arrival of a third body of French, who put all the Spaniards to the sword. The commander of this third expedition contented himself with making a tour in the country ; he made no settlement there, nor did the Spaniards seek to recover it ; so that from the year 1567 it lay deserted by all European nations, till the days of our K. Charles the II^d, when the English effectually settled there, by virtue of his majesty's grant to certain lords proprietors, and completed that right, which his predecessor, K. Henry the VIIth, had acquired by the first discovery of this part of the continent. It is true, indeed, the Spaniards were acquainted with this country so early as the year 1512, under the conduct of John Ponce de Leon, but sir Sebastian Cabot, or Cabota, born at Bristol, of Venetian parents, had first dis-

covered it in the year 1497, under the commission, at the costs, and in the name of our K. Henry the VIIth, as appears by foreign writers, of that age of great repute in the learned world, and some of them are Spanish authors.

I think the civilians are not all agreed upon sure canons, or maxims concerning the best method of acquiring the dominion of countries, nor how far the first discovery can vest, or establish a right. Some Romish and Spanish lawyers have been so fond as to fancy that the pope's donation is the best title imaginable ; yet (I know not how it happens) not only the heretics of England, but even the most Christian king, the eldest son of the church, has contravened that title, has taken possession of large countries in America and grasps at more.

I believe the doctrine most generally received is this : that occupancy is the most unquestionable title by the law of nature ; and that touching at a coast for fuel and water ; erecting a cross, or the arms of a prince, or state, and trappanning away two or three of the savage natives into captivity, are not such an occupancy as can reasonably acquire the dominion of a country ; for at that rate Cain, who was a vagabond on earth, might have claimed universal monarchy, and have left no room for the children of Seth. The common sense of mankind could not fail to establish a rule, that dereliction should be as certain a method of waving, or giving up property, as the true and genuine occupancy is of acquiring it ; and for a like reason ; for if I am entitled to take a thing out of the common of nature and make it my separate property by using it, my not using it any longer is the most natural waiver and abdication of that property, and justly throws that thing into the common again, to be possessed by the next occupant. This occupancy then consists in a settlement of people, dwelling in fixed habitations and tilling the earth ; and this is what princes and states would prefer to all other rights, let declarations and manifestoes swell with never so many historical claims of the earliest discovery, when sovereigns are disposed to quarrel. And this right, like all other rights, must at all times be accompanied with a sufficient force to defend it from invaders, for reasons too obvious here to be enlarged on.

Under this rational notion of acquiring dominion, an extent of the ancient Florida of three hundred miles in length

by the ocean coast, became the property of England more than sixty years ago. For King Charles the II^d having by his* letters patents granted the same to several lords proprietors by the name of Carolina, they peopled it with a colony which has ever since subsisted, though frequently checked in its growth by heavy difficulties and discouragements.

This colony had a very promising beginning; there were a great number of laws, or constitutions agreed to by the lords proprietors, which gave a general toleration for tender consciences, and contained many other wholesome regulations. These had been drawn up by the great lawyer and famous politician the Earl of Shaftsbury, with the assistance of Mr. Lock the philosopher, but were not duly observed when the lords proprietors came to exercise their jurisdiction over numbers of people: there was a natural infirmity in the policy of their charter, which was the source of many of the misfortunes of the colony, without any imputation on the noble families concerned. For the grantees, being eight in number, and not incorporated, and no provision being made to conclude the whole number by the voices of the majority, there could not be the timely measures always agreed on which were proper, or necessary for the safety and good government of the plantation. In the mean time the inhabitants grew unruly and quarrelled about religion and politics, and while there was a mere anarchy among them, they were exposed to the attacks and insults of their Spanish and Indian neighbors, whom they had imprudently provoked and injured; and to discharge the debts contracted by their unsuccessful attempts, they unskillfully forced a paper currency upon the subject, by an act of their parliament, which naturally put an end to credit and suspended their commerce; and as if they had conspired against the growth of the colony, they repealed their laws for liberty of conscience, though the majority of the people were dissenters, and had resorted thither under the public faith for a complete indulgence, which they considered as part of their Magna Charta. Their strict conformity law was indeed repealed long before the lords proprietors surrendered their patent, but it was long enough in force to do abundance of mischief.

And yet such are the natural advantages of this happy

* The letters patents to the Earl of Clarendon, &c. bore date the 29th day of March, 1663.

climate, that even under these discouragements, the colony grew so considerably, that Charles Town has now near * six hundred good houses, and the whole plantation has above forty thousand negro slaves, worth at least a million of pounds sterling, besides an infinite number of cattle. Though it was only within these four years that an end was put to their sorrows ; for about that time, the lords proprietors and planters (who long had been heartily tired of each other) were, by the interposition of the legislature, fairly divorced forever, and the property of the whole vested in the crown.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Air, Soil, Climate, and Produce of South Carolina and Georgia. Reasons why this Country is not well peopled with Indians. The Natives described.

FROM what was said in the foregoing chapter it cannot be a matter of wonder that a great part of Carolina should have hitherto remained uninhabited. The whole is divided into two distinct governments, by the names of North Carolina and South Carolina. I shall confine myself to treat of the latter. The new province of Georgia is taken out of it, and divided from it on the north by the river Savannah, equal to the Rhine ; its southern boundary is the river Alatamaha ; it lies about the 30th and 31st degree, north latitude, in the same climate with Barbary, the north part of Egypt, the south part of Natolia, or Asia Minor, and the most temperate parts of Persia and China.

† The air is healthy, being always serene, pleasant and temperate, never subject to excessive heat or cold, nor to sudden changes ; the winter is regular and short, and the summer cooled with refreshing breezes ; and though this country is within three hundred miles of Virginia, it never feels the cutting north-west wind in that uneasy and dangerous degree that the Virginians complain of. This wind is generally attributed to those great seas of fresh water which lie to the north-west beyond the Apalachean mountains. It seems a journey of an hundred leagues in that

* See Description Abreg. page 8.

† Archdale's Descrip., p. 7, 8, and Descrip. Abreg., p. 16.

warm climate blunts the edge which the wind gets in its passage over those prodigious lakes. Nor on the other hand does this country ever feel the intense heats of Spain, Barbary, Italy, and Egypt; probably because, instead of the scorching sands of Africk and Arabia, it has to the southward the spacious Bay of Mexico, which is much more temperate in its effect upon the winds, than are those burning sandy deserts.

* The soil of this country is generally sandy, especially near the sea; but it is impregnated with such a fertile mixture that they use no manure, even in their most ancient settlements, which have been under tillage these sixty years. It will produce almost every thing in wonderful quantities with very little culture. Farther up the country the land is more mixed with a blackish mould, and its foundation generally clay good for bricks. They make their lime of oyster-shells, of which there are great quantities on banks near the shore. All things will undoubtedly thrive in this country that are to be found in the happiest places under the same latitude. Their rice, the only considerable staple which requires many of their hands at present, is known to be incomparably better than that of the East Indies; their pitch, tar and turpentine (of which they export great quantities) are the rewards of their industry in clearing the land of superfluous timber. † Mulberries both black and white, are natives of this soil, and are found in the woods, as are many other sorts of fruit trees of excellent kinds, and the growth of them is surprizingly swift; for a peach, apricot, or nectarine, will, from the stone, grow to be a bearing tree in four or five years time. All sorts of corn yield an amazing increase, an hundred fold is the common estimate, though their husbandry is so slight, that they can only be said to scratch the earth and merely to cover the seed. ‡ All the best sorts of cattle and fowls are multiplied without number, and therefore almost without a price; you may see there more than a thousand calves in the same inclosure belonging to one person. § The vine is also a wild native here, five or six sorts grow wild in the woods; it has been said that the stone of the grape is too large, and the skin too thick, but several who have tried, find all imaginable encouragement to propagate

* Descrip. Abreg., p. 6. Archdale's Descrip., p. 8.

† Ib., p. 13.

‡ Ib., p. 11, 12, 13. § Ib. 10.

the different kinds from Europe ; nor is it doubted that by proper culture this wild grape may be meliorated, so as well to reward the care of the planter.

The wild beasts are deer, elks, bears, wolves, buffaloes, wild-boars, and abundance of hares and rabbits : they have also a catamountain, or small leopard ; but this is not the dangerous species of the East Indies. Their fowls are no less various ; they have all the sorts that we have in England, both wild and tame, and many others either useful or beautiful. It would be endless to enumerate their fishes, the river Savannah is plentifully stocked with them of many excellent kinds : no part in the world affords more variety or greater plenty. They have oak, cedar, cypress, fir, walnut, and ash, besides the sassafras. They have oranges, lemons, apples and pears, besides the peach and apricot mentioned before ; some of * these are so delicious, that whoever tastes them will despise the insipid watery taste of those we have in England ; and yet such is the plenty of them, that they are given to the hogs in great quantities. Sarsaparilla, cassia, and other sorts of trees grow in the woods, yielding gums and rosin, and also some oil excellent for curing wounds.

†The woods near the Savannah are not hard to be cleared, many of them have no underwood, and the trees do not stand generally thick on the ground, but at considerable distances asunder. When you fell the timber for use, or to make tar, the root will rot in four or five years, and in the mean time you may pasture the ground. But if you would only destroy the timber, it is done by half a dozen strokes of an axe surrounding each tree a little above the root ; in a year or two, the water getting into the wounds, rots the timber, and a brisk gust of wind fells many acres for you in an hour, of which you may then make one bright bonfire. Such will be frequently here the fate of the pine, the walnut, the cypress, the oak, and the cedar. Such an air and soil can only be fitly described by a poetical pen, because there is but little danger of exceeding the truth. Take therefore part of Mr. Waller's description of an island in the neighborhood of Carolina to give you an idea of this happy climate.

* Archdale's Description, p. 7.

† Descr. Abreg. p. 7.

The lofty cedar which to Heav'n aspires,
 The prince of trees is fuel for their fires.
 The sweet palmettaes a new Bacchus yield,
 With leaves as ample as the broadest shield.
 Under the shadow of whose friendly boughs
 They sit carousing where their liquor grows.
 Figs there unplanted through the fields do grow,
 Such as fierce Cato did the Romans show;
 With the rare fruit inviting them to spoil
 Carthage, the mistress of so rich a soil.
 With candid plantines and the juicy pine,
 On choicest melons and sweet grapes they dine,
 And with potatoes fat their lusty swine. }

—— The kind spring, which but salutes us here,
 Inhabits there and courts them all the year.
 Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same trees live,
 At once they promise, what at once they give.
 So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
 None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
 Heav'n sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst,
 To shew how all things were created first.

The thought of the poet in the last couplet is adopted by the ingenious Dr. Burnet in his theory of the earth, with fine improvements of it. The Dr. seems fully convinced that the temperament of the climate of Bermudas approaches very near to that of the Antediluvian world, in which he fancies that spring and autumn were continual and universal over the face of the earth, till the Almighty (as Milton has it) turned the poles askance. And by physical reasoning he deduces the longevity of the Antediluvians from this happy equality of seasons, uninterrupted by the shocking vicissitude of heat and cold, which tear the human frame asunder. He thinks that a person born in Bermudas, and continuing there all his life-time, has a moral probability of living three hundred years. This conjecture seems to be supported by what we are told in Purchas's Pilgrimage of one of the Indian kings of Florida, who was three hundred years old, and his father was fifty years older, and then living. The father is described as a skeleton covered with skin; his sinews, veins and arteries, and other parts appeared so clearly through his skin, that a man might easily tell and discern them the one from the other. His son shewed five generations descended from himself. It was such a figure as this Indian king, which induced the ancients to feign that Tithonus being very old was changed into a grasshopper.

Longa Tithonum minuit senectus.

HOR.

Now Georgia is just about the middle of Purchas's Florida. But not to go too far with the poet, theorist, and old historian ; it is probable those Indians divided the solar year into two years as the Virginian Indians did. Let us rely upon what we know at this day ; it must not be concealed, that in this country, as almost in every new climate, strangers are apt to have a seasoning ; an ague, or sort of a fever ; but then it is very slight : And for the rest, people very seldom want health here but by intemperance, (which indeed is too common.) And notwithstanding their several skirmishes with the Spaniards and Indians, and that the plague was imported thither in the year one thousand seven hundred and six ; yet there are now several aged persons living at Charles Town, who were of that little number that first settled there and hewed down timber above sixty years ago.

By the healthiness of this climate, and some accounts of Spanish expeditions hither in early times, which were vigorously repulsed by great armies of the natives, one would expect to find the country by this time fully peopled with Indians. It is indeed probable that they were much more numerous in those days than they are at present, or else they could not have defended themselves against the Spaniards as they did. But if their numbers were formerly considerable they have since greatly decreased ; and that might easily happen in a century, even though the country be naturally fertile and healthy, for the Indians in all the continent of North America, near the Atlantic ocean, have been discovered to have this resemblance in common : They are small tribes of huntsmen, exceedingly apt to make war upon each other, as our five nations of Iroquois beyond New England and New York, have within these forty years driven many other nations from fertile inland countries, of the extent of many millions of acres, and that not without incredible slaughter. Add to which, that these poor creatures, living with hardly any husbandry, or stores of provisions, must perish in heaps if the fruits of the woods, or their hunting should once fail them ; one scanty season would infallibly famish whole nations of them. Another great cause of their destruction was the small-pox, the Europeans brought this distemper among them. Now their common cure in all fevers is to sweat plentifully, and then to stop that evacuation at once by plunging instantly into a river. They cannot be per-

suaded to alter this method in the case of the small-pox, and it certainly kills them. Rum also has been a fatal liquor to them, many of them have been inclined to drink it to such an excess as we sometimes hear of at home in the abuse of Geneva, and sometimes they are so little masters of their reason, when intoxicated, as to be too apt to commit murders; but there are many sober men among them who abhor the abuse of this liquor. Thus Mr. Archdale relates, that, when he was governor, he ordered an Indian to be executed, who being drunk with rum had murdered an Indian of another tribe. The king of his tribe came to him and reminded him how often he had warned him of the dangers attending excesses in that liquor, but exhorted him (since death was unavoidable) to die like a man, which the unhappy man performed with firmness and gallantry. I have mentioned this story because a vulgar error prevails, as if the Indians were all addicted to this vice. But to return to the opposition against the Spaniards. It is also probable that many tribes were leagued together in the common cause, and that the Spaniards were thence induced to think the people of this part of the continent much more numerous than in truth they were. It is most certain that the nations of Carolina in our days have exactly answered in all respects the descriptions we have of the inhabitants of Virginia, when we first got footing there in the beginning of the last century. Captain Smith (next to Sir Walter Rawleigh) the most industrious and resolute planter of Virginia in those days, computed that all the tribes in a country much more fertile and little less in extent than England, could not draw into the field above five thousand fighting men, though the tract of land is sufficient to maintain more than ten millions of people.

— Sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus.

HOR.

This is confirmed and illustrated by the well-attested story that one of their little kings instructed his minister, who was coming hither, to number our tribe; the minister, at his arrival, attempted to execute his commission by making notches on a stick, but soon grew tired of his arithmetic, and at his return expressed the multitude of our forefathers by pointing to the stars, and to the fallen leaves of a wood in autumn. And here I cannot omit saying, that it is a policy of consid-

erable benefit to our colonies, and an expense well laid out, at proper distances of time to persuade some of the chiefest savages, both for authority and understanding, to visit Great Britain. That awed with the high idea which our metropolis gives them of the grandeur of this empire, and propagating that idea among their tribes, our planters in their several neighborhoods may enjoy uninterrupted peace and commerce with them, and even assistance from them, for at least one generation. Such was the journey of the Irroquois chiefs in the reign of Queen Anne, and such was lately the visit from our Indian neighbors of Carolina. The good effects of these visits are well known to the planters of those colonies respectively, and probably will be felt with pleasure for an age to come.

The description of the Carolina Indians in their present state of nature, is as follows, * they are somewhat tawny, occasioned chiefly by oiling their skins, and by exposing themselves naked to the rays of the sun. They are generally straight-bodied, comely in person, quick of apprehension, and great hunters, by which they are not only serviceable by killing deer to procure skins for trade with us, but our people that live in country plantations procure of them the whole deer's flesh, and they bring it many miles for the value of six-pence sterling, and a wild turkey of forty pound weight for the value of two-pence.

CHAPTER III.

Persons reduced to Poverty are not Wealth to the Nation, may be Happy in Georgia, and profitable to England; they are within the Design of the Patent.

SINCE the time that the lords proprietors sold their rights in Carolina to the crown, the Governor there, has been ordered and instructed to assign liberally portions of land to every new planter according to his ability to occupy it; to erect towns and parishes of twenty thousand acres of land in each district; and to grant to each parish the privilege of

* Archd. Description, page 7.

sending two members to the assembly of the province, as soon as one hundred masters of families shall be settled in it. Neither will the planters be confined to the ground first allotted them, their lots are to be augmented as they become able to cultivate a larger quantity. These lands are to be granted in fee-simple under the yearly rent of four-pence for every hundred acres : but this rent is not to be charged for the first ten years ; during that time the lands shall be entirely free.

But all this encouragement was not sufficient to people this country, they who can make life tolerable here are willing to stay at home, as it is indeed best for the kingdom that they should, and they who are oppressed by poverty and misfortunes are unable to be at the charges of removing from their miseries. These were the people intended to be relieved, but they were not able to reach the friendly arm extended for their relief, something else must be done, of which more shall be said in a proper place. Let us in the mean time cast our eyes on the multitude of unfortunate people in the kingdom of reputable families, and of liberal or at least, easy education : some undone by guardians, some by law suits, some by accidents in commerce, some by stocks and bubbles, and some by suretyship. But all agree in this one circumstance, that they must either be burthensome to their relations, or betake themselves to little shifts for sustenance, which (it is ten to one) do not answer their purposes, and to which a well educated mind descends with the utmost constraint. What various misfortunes may reduce the rich, the industrious, to the danger of a prison, to a moral certainty of starving ! These are the people that may relieve themselves and strengthen Georgia, by resorting thither, and Great Britain by their departure.

I appeal to the recollection of the reader (though he be opulent, though he be noble,) does not his own sphere of acquaintance ? (I may venture to ask) does not even his own blood, his set of near relations furnish him with some instances of such persons as have been here described ? Must they starve ? What honest mind can bear to think it ? Must they be fed by the contributions of others ? Certainly they must, rather than be suffered to perish. Are these wealth to the nation ? Are they not a burthen to themselves, a burthen to their kindred and acquaintance ? A burthen to the whole community ?

I have heard it said (and it is easy to say so) let them learn to work ; let them subdue their pride and descend to mean employments, keep ale-houses, or coffee-houses, even sell fruit, or clean shoes for an honest livelihood. But alas ! these occupations and many more like them, are overstocked already by people who know better how to follow them, than do they whom we have been talking of. Half of those who are bred in low life, and well versed in such shifts and expedients, find but a very narrow maintenance by them. As for laboring, I could almost wish that the gentleman, or merchant, who thinks that another gentleman, or merchant in want, can thresh, or dig, to the value of subsistence for his family, or even for himself ; I say I could wish the person who thinks so, were obliged to make trial of it for a week, or (not to be too severe) for only a day : he would find himself to be less than the fourth part of a laborer, and that the fourth part of a laborer's wages could not maintain him. I have heard it said, that a man may learn to labor by practice ; it is admitted : but it must also be admitted that before he can learn, he may starve. Suppose a gentleman were this day to begin, and with grievous toil found himself able to earn three pence, how many days, or months, are necessary to form him that he may deserve a shilling per diem ? Men, whose wants are importunate, must try such expedients as will give immediate relief. It is too late for them to begin to learn a trade when their pressing necessities call for the exercise of it.

Having thus described (I fear, too truly) the pitiable condition of the better sort of the indigent, an objection rises against their removal upon what is stated of their imbecility for drudgery. It may be asked, if they can't get bread here for their labor, how will their condition be mended in Georgia ? The answer is easy ; part of it is well attested, and part self-evident. They have land there for nothing, and that* land is so fertile that (as is said before) they receive an hundredfold increase for taking very little pains. Give here in England ten acres of good land to one of these helpless persons, and I doubt not his ability to make it sustain him, and this by his own culture, without letting it to another : but the difference between no rent, and rack-rent, is the dif-

* *Descr. Abreg.* p. 13.

ference between eating and starving. If I make but twenty pound of the produce of a field, and am to pay twenty pound rent for it; it is plain I must perish if I have not another fund to support me: but if I pay no rent, the produce of that field will supply the mere necessities of life.

With a view to the relief of people in the condition I have described, his majesty has this present year incorporated a considerable number of persons of quality and distinction, and vested a large tract of South Carolina in them, by the name of Georgia, in trust to be distributed among the necessitous. These Trustees not only give land to the unhappy who go thither, but are also impowered to receive the voluntary contributions of charitable persons to enable them to furnish the poor adventurers with all necessities for the expense of the voyage, occupying the land, and supporting them till they find themselves comfortably settled. So that now the unfortunate will not be obliged to bind themselves to a long servitude, to pay for their passage, for they may be carried gratis into a land of liberty and plenty; where they immediately find themselves in possession of a competent estate, in an happier climate than they knew before, and they are unfortunate indeed if here they cannot forget their sorrows.

CHAPTER IV.

England will grow rich by sending her Poor Abroad. Of Refugees, Conversion of Indians, small Offenders, Roman Colonies.

BESIDES the persons described in the preceding chapter, there are others whom it may be proper to send abroad for the reasons hereafter given, which reasons will also shew at whose expense these other sorts of indigent people ought to be removed. I think it may be laid down for a rule, that we may well spare all those, who having neither income, nor industry, equal to their necessities, are forced to live upon the fortunes, or labors of others; and that they who now are an heavy rent-charge upon the public, may be made an immense revenue to it, and this by an happy exchange of their poverty for an affluence.

Believing it will be granted that the people described in

the last chapter ought in prudence to go abroad ; and that we are bound in humanity and charity to send them : there arises a question, whether our aiding their departure be consistent with good policy ? I raise this objection on purpose to answer it, because some who mean very well to the public have fancied that our numbers absolutely taken, without a distinction, are real wealth to a nation. Upon a little examination, this will appear to be a mistaken notion. It arises from a misapplication of Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, and of Sir William Temple's Observations on the united Netherlands. But when these great men esteem people as the wealth of a nation, surely they can only mean such as labor, and by their industry add yearly to the capital stock of their country, at the same time, that they provide the necessaries or comforts of life for themselves. Perhaps the rasp-houses may be reckoned part of the riches of Holland, because the drones are made to work in them : but is an infirmary of incurables wealth to a community ? Or (which is worse, because it is remediable and is not remedied) are hundreds of prisons filled with thousands of English debtors, are they a glory, or a reproach, a benefit, or a burthen, to the nation ? Who can be so absurd as to say that we should be enriched by the importation of a multitude of cripples, who might be able perhaps to earn a fourth part of what is necessary to sustain them ? If ten thousand of these would be an addition to our wealth, ten millions of them must add a thousand times as much to it. Did the fire of London add to the wealth of the nation ? I am sure it gave abundance of employment to the poor, just as people are employed in trade to feed and cloth the inhabitants of prisons. But these are also a slow fire, an hectic fever to consume the vitals of the state. The true state of national wealth is like that of private wealth, it is comparative. The nation, as well as individuals, must work to save and not to spend. If I work hard all day and at night give my wages to the next cripple I see, it may be profitable to my soul, but my worldly fortune is in the same condition as if I had stood idle. If the produce of the nation be in movables, land and labor fifty millions in a year, and only forty-eight millions are expended to maintain the people : now has the nation added two millions to its capital, but if it spends fifty-one millions, then is that to be made good by sinking part of the personal

estate, or mortgaging the real. And upon a par, plus a million, and minus a million in earnings and expenses will operate nothing towards increasing the national wealth, if you proceed in *infinitum*, it is only impoverishing the rich to maintain the poor; it seems indeed to have something of leveling in it; to prevent which, I think our men of fortune would act wisely once for all; to put these poor people on a footing of their own, and shake off the perpetual incumbrance by a single act of prudent beneficence.

One of the gentlemen would have Scotland, Ireland and Wales sunk under water, but all the people saved and settled in England. He certainly deceived himself with a view of the * artificial strength of the Dutch, when their fishery was at the highest pitch, and when they were carriers for mankind. But they have not been able to preserve these branches of trade entire, and their numbers must decrease as do the means of maintaining them. Therefore instead of taking it for granted, that numbers of people necessarily create a traffic; we may invert the proposition, and safely hold, that an extensive traffic will infallibly be attended with sufficient numbers of people.

And yet these unhappy people, who are not able to earn above a fourth part of their sustenance at home, and as we have shown are a load on the fortunes and industry of others, may in the new province of Georgia well provide by their labor a decent maintenance, and at the same time enrich their mother country.

Upon what has been said, the reader may be desirous to see a state of the difference (with respect to the interests of the industrious and wealthy part of the nation,) between a poor person here, earning but half his sustenance, and the same person settled in a freehold, of a fertile soil without tithes or taxes: and in this computation let us remember that of the many thousands of poor debtors, who fill our prisons, few earn any thing at present; and this colony is chiefly intended for the unfortunate, there being no danger of the departure of such as are able to maintain themselves here.

A man who is equal in ability, only to the fourth part of a laborer, (and many such there are,) we will suppose to earn

* See the sixth chapter.

four-pence per diem, five pounds per annum, in London ; his wife and a child of above seven years old four-pence per diem more : upon a fair supposition (because it is the common case) he has another child too young to earn any thing. These live but wretchedly at an expense of twenty pounds per annum, to defray which they earn ten pounds ; so that they are a loss to the rich and industrious part of the nation of ten pounds per annum, for there are but three general methods of supplying the defect of their ability. Whatever they consume more than they earn, must be furnished, first either by the bounty, or charity of others ; or secondly, by frauds, as by running in debt to the ruin of the industrious, &c., or, thirdly, by what our law calls force and felony, as theft and robbery, &c. They must be supplied at some of these rates, therefore (as I said before,) this family is a loss to the rich and industrious of ten pounds per annum, and if the particulars of their consumption, or an equivalent for them could have brought ten pounds from any foreign market, then has the whole community lost ten pounds by this family.

Now this very family in Georgia, by raising rice and corn sufficient for its occasions, and by attending the care of their cattle and land (which almost every one is able to do for himself in some tolerable degree) will easily produce in the gross value, the sum of sixty pounds per annum, nor is this to be wondered at, because of the valuable assistance it has from a fertile soil and a stock given gratis, which must always be remembered in this calculation.

The lots to be assigned to each family, as it is said, will be about fifty acres. The usual *wages of a common laborer in Carolina is three shillings per diem, English value, or twenty shillings of their money. Therefore our poor man, (who is only equal to the fourth part of a man,) at about nine pence per diem, earns about twelve pounds per annum, his care of his stock on his land in his hours of resting from labor, (amounting to one half of each day) is worth also twelve pounds per annum, his wife and eldest child may easily between them earn as much as the man ; so that the sum remaining to be raised by the wealth of the soil and the stock thereon (abstracted from the care and labor of the husbandman) is only twelve pounds per annum, it must be observed that though this family, when in London, was dieted but

* Descr. Abreg. page 9.

meanly, yet it could afford very little for clothes out of the twenty pounds it then expended, but now it will fare much better in Georgia, at the same expense, because provisions will be cheap, and it will also pay forty pounds a year to England for apparel, furniture and utensils of the manufacture of this kingdom. Behold then the benefit the common weal receives by relieving her famishing sons. Take it stated only upon one hundred such families as follows,

In London an hundred men earn	500 <i>l</i> .
An hundred women and an hundred children,	500 <i>l</i> .
Total,	1000 <i>l</i> .

In Georgia an hundred families earn,	
An hundred men for labor	1200 <i>l</i> .
Ditto for care,	1200 <i>l</i> .
An hundred women and an hundred children,	2400 <i>l</i> .
Land and stock in themselves,	1200 <i>l</i> .
Total,	6000 <i>l</i> .

In London an hundred families consume,	2000 <i>l</i> .
Supplied by their labor,	1000 <i>l</i> .
By the wealth of others,	1000 <i>l</i> .

In Georgia an hundred families consume of their	
own produce,	2000 <i>l</i> .
Of English produce,	4000 <i>l</i> .

Thus taking it that we gained one thousand pounds per annum, (which was the value of their labor) before their removal, that we now gain four thousand pounds, and we have got an addition of three thousand pounds per annum to our income; but if, (as the truth is) we formerly lost one thousand pounds per annum, and the nation now gains four thousand pounds per annum, the rich and industrious are now profited to the value of five thousand pounds per annum. I might also shew other great advantages in the increase of our customs, our shipping, and our seamen. It is plain that these hundred families, thus removed, employ near two hundred families here to work for them, and thus

by their absence they increase the people of Great Britain, for hands will not be long wanting where employment is to be had ; if we can find business that will feed them, what between the encouragement and increase of propagation on the one hand, and the preservation of those who now perish for want on the other : we should quickly find we had strengthened our hive by sending a swarm away to provide for themselves.

It is also highly for the honor and advancement of our holy religion to assign a new country to the poor Germans, who have left their own for the sake of truth. It will be a powerful encouragement to martyrs and confessors of this kind to hold fast their integrity, when they know their case not to be desperate in this world. Nor need we fear that the King of Prussia will be able to engross them all, we shall have a share of them if we contribute cheerfully to their removal. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts have gloriously exerted themselves on this occasion : they have resolved to advance such a sum of money to the Trustees for the colony of Georgia, as will enable them to provide for seven hundred poor Salzburghers. This is laying a foundation for the conversion of the heathen, at the same time that they snatch a great number of poor Christians out of the danger of apostacy. It is to be hoped this laudable example will be followed by private persons, who may thus at once do much for the glory of God, and for the wealth and trade of Great Britain. Subjects thus acquired by the impolitic persecutions, by the superstitious barbarities of the neighboring princes, are a noble addition to the capital stock of the British Empire. If our people be ten millions, and we were to have an access of ten thousand useful refugees, every stock-jobber in Exchange-alley must allow that this would increase our wealth and figure in the world, as one added to a thousand, or, as one-tenth per cent. This would be the proportion of our growth compared with our neighbors, who have not been the persecutors ; but as against the persecutor, the increase of our strength would be in a double ratio, compounded as well of negative as of positive quantity. Thus if A and B are worth one thousand pounds each, and a third person gives twenty shillings to A, now A is become richer than B by one-tenth per cent., but if A gains twenty shillings from B, then A is

become richer than B by two-tenths or one-fifth per cent., for A is worth one thousand and one pounds, and B is worth only nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds.

The increase of our people, on this fruitful continent, will probably, in due time, have a good effect on the natives, if we do not shamefully neglect their conversion: if we were moderately attentive to our duty on this head, we have no reason to doubt of success. The Spaniard has at this day as many Christians as he has subjects in America, negroes excepted. We may more reasonably hope to make converts and good subjects of the Indians in amity with us, by using them well, when we grow numerous in their neighborhood, than the Spaniards could have expected to have done by their inexpressible cruelties, which raised the utmost aversion in the minds of the poor Indians against them and their religion together. One of their own friars who had not relinquished his humanity, tells us of an Indian prince, who just as the Spaniards were about to murder him, was importuned by one of their Religious to become a Christian; the priest told him much of heaven and hell, of joy and misery eternal; the prince desired to be informed which of the two places was allotted for the Spaniards? Heaven, quoth the priest; says the prince, I'm resolved not to go there. How different from this was the reflection of an Indian chief in Pennsylvania: * what is the matter, says he, with us that we are thus sick in our own air, and these strangers well? It is as if they were sent hither to inherit our land in our steads; but the reason is plain, they love the great God and we do not. Was not this Indian almost become a Christian? New England has many convert Indians, who are very good subjects, though no other colony had such long and cruel wars with its Indian neighbors.

The pious benefactions of the people of England have in all ages equalled, if not surpassed, all instances of the kind in other countries. The mistaken piety of our ancestors gave a third part of the kingdom to the church. Their intentions were right though they erred in the object. Since the statutes against *mortmain* and superstitious uses, our great and numerous foundations of hospitals and alms-houses, are the wonder of foreigners. Some of these, especially of

* 2 Brit. Emp. Fol. i. p. 162.

the largest, are doubtless of great use, and excellently administered. And yet, if the numbers in this nation, who feel the woes of others and would contribute to relieve them, did but consider the cases of the people described in the last chapter, of the German emigrants, and even of the poor Indians; they would be apt to conclude that there ought to be a blessing in store for these also. About eight pounds allowed to an indigent person here, may poorly support him, and this must be repeated yearly; but a little more, than double that sum, relieves him for life, sends him to our new world, gives plenty there to him and his posterity; putting them in possession of a good estate, of which, they may be their own stewards.

But this is not all, that sum which settles one poor family in the colony does not end there; it in truth purchases an estate to be applied to like uses, in all future times. The author of these pages is credibly informed that the Trustees will reserve to themselves square lots of ground interspersed at proper distances among the lands, which shall be given away. As the country fills with people, these lots will become valuable, and at moderate rents will be a growing fund to provide for those whose melancholy cases may require assistance hereafter. Thus the settlement of five hundred persons will open the way to settle a thousand more afterwards with equal facility. Nor is this advance of the value of these lots of land a chimerical notion; it will happen certainly and suddenly. All the lands within fifty miles of Charlestown have within these seven years increased near fourfold in their* value, so that you must pay three or four hundred pounds for a plantation, which seven years ago you could have bought for a hundred pounds, and it is certain that fifty years ago you might have purchased at Charlestown for five shillings a spot of land which the owner would not sell at this day for two hundred pounds sterling.

The legislature is only able to take a proper course for the transportation of small offenders, if it shall seem best, when the wisdom of the nation is assembled; I mean only those who are but novices in iniquity. Prevention is better than the punishment of crimes, it may reform such to make them servants to such planters as were reduced from a good con-

* Descr. Abreg. p. 9.

dition. The manners and habits of very young offenders would meliorate in a country not populous enough to encourage a profligate course of life, but a country where discipline will easily be preserved. These might supply the place of negroes, and yet (because their servitude is only to be temporary) they might upon occasion be found useful against the French, or Spaniards; indeed, as the proportion of negroes now stands, that country would be in great danger of being lost, in case of a war with either of those powers. The present wealth of the planters in their slaves too probably threatens their future ruin, if proper measures be not taken to strengthen their neighborhood with large supplies of free-men. I would not here be understood to advance that our common run of Old-Baily transports would be a proper beginning in the infancy of Georgia. No, they would be too hard for our young planters, they ought never to be sent any where but to the sugar islands, unless we had mines to employ them.

The property of the public, with regard to its immense debt, and the anticipation of taxes attending that debt, will probably be a reason to many worthy patrons, not to afford a large pecuniary assistance in parliament, though they give all other furtherance to this settlement, and yet powerful reasons might be offered why the commons of Great Britain, with justice to those that sent them, might apply a large sum of public money to this occasion. Let us suppose that twenty-five thousand of the most helpless people in Great Britain were settled there at an expense of half a million of money; the easiness of the labor in winding off the silk and tending the silk worm would agree with the most of those who throughout the kingdom are chargeable to the parishes. That labor with the benefit of land stocked for them gratis, would well subsist them, and save our parishes near two hundred thousand pounds a year directly in their annual payments; not to compute would also be saved indirectly, by the unwillingness of many pretended invalids to go the voyage, who would then betake themselves to industrious courses to gain a livelihood.

I shall consider the benefit of employing them in raising silk when I come in the fifth chapter, to treat of the commerce of Carolina. I shall only here observe that the number of poor last mentioned, being thus disposed of, would

send us goods, at least to the value of five hundred thousand pounds annually, to pay for their English necessities ; and that would be somewhat better than our being obliged to maintain them at the rate of two hundred thousand pounds a year here at home.

I cannot dismiss this inquiry concerning the proper persons to plant this colony, without observing that the wisdom of the Roman state discharged not only its ungovernable distressed multitude, but also its *emeriti*, its soldiers, which had served long and well in war, into colonies upon the frontiers of their empire. It was by this policy that they elbowed all the nations round them. Their military hospital went a progress, we can trace its stages northward from the Tyber to the Po, to the Rhone, to the Rhine, to the Thames : the like advances they made on all sides round them, and their soldiers were at least as fond of the estates thus settled on them as ours can be of their pensions.

What I said before in this chapter, with regard to the increasing fund, to arise by reserved lots of ground interspersed among the lands that will be distributed to the planters, will hold good in the same manner in such settlements as might be made at a national expense, so that twenty thousand people, well settled, will raise the value of the reserved lands, in such measure as will bring Great Britain to resemble the present Carolina in one happy instance, viz. that there is not a *beggar, or very poor person in the whole country. Then should we have no going to decay, no complaining in our streets.

CHAPTER V.

Of the present and (probable) future Trade of South Carolina and Georgia.
Rice, Silk, Cotton, Wine, &c.

THE present state of South Carolina and its commerce may give us an idea of the condition of the early settlements in the new colony of Georgia. The first essays in trade and husbandry will doubtless be in imitation of their nearest neighbors. We shall therefore consider these colonies together,

* *Descr. Abreg.* p. 6.

the difference in their air and soil being hardly discernible, and the same traffic being proper for them both.

We are not to imagine that either the present branches of trade in that country, will be perpetual, or that there is not room to introduce others of more importance than any they have hitherto been acquainted with. Thus it will necessarily fall out that their present exports of lumber and deer skins will decrease, or rather wholly cease when the country grows populous: and this for an obvious reason, the land will be better employed, it will be disafforrested, and no longer left vacant to the growth of great woods, and the sustenance of wild herds of deer. But the very reason why these branches of trade will cease will also be the cause of their taking up others, or improving them to such a degree, as must put these colonies in a condition to vie with the most flourishing countries of Europe and Asia: and that without prejudice to their dependence on Great Britain. We shall by their growth in people and commerce have the navigation and dominion of the ocean established in us more firmly than ever. We shall be their market for great quantities of * raw silk, and perhaps for wine, oil, cotton, drugs, dying-stuffs, and many other lesser commodities. They have already tried the vine and the silk-worm, and have all imaginable encouragement to expect that these will prove most valuable staple commodities to them. And I have been credibly informed, that the Trustees for Georgia furnish proper expenses for a skilful botanist to collect the seeds of drugs and dying-stuffs in other countries in the same climate, in order to cultivate such of them as shall be found to thrive well in Georgia. This gentleman could not be expected to proceed at his own charges, but he is the only person belonging to the management of that trust who does not serve gratis.

The raw silk, which Great Britain and Ireland are able to consume, will employ forty or fifty thousand persons in that country, nor need they be the strongest, or most industrious part of mankind; it must be † a weak hand indeed that cannot earn bread where silk-worms and white mulberry trees are so plenty. Most of the poor in Great Britain, who are maintained by charity, are capable of this, though not of

* Descr. Abreg., p. 13. Archdale's Descr., p. 30.

† Archdale's Descr., p. 30.

harder labor: and the planters may be certain of selling their raw silk to the utmost extent of the British demand for that commodity; because a British parliament will not fail to encourage the importation of it from thence, rather than from aliens, that the planters may be able to make large demands upon us for our home commodities: for this will be the consequence of their employing all their people in producing a commodity, which is so far from rivalling, that it will supply a rich manufacture to their mother country.

The present medium of our importation of silk will not be the measure hereafter of that branch of trade when the Georgians shall enter into the management of the silk-worm. Great Britain will then be able to sell silk manufactures cheaper than all Europe besides, because the Georgians may grow rich, and yet afford their raw silk for less than half the price that we now pay for that of Piedmont: the peasant of Piedmont, after he has tended the worm, and wound off the silk, pays half of it for the rent of the mulberry trees, and the eggs of the silk-worm: but in Georgia the working hand will have the benefit of all his labor. This is fifty in a hundred, or cent per cent difference in favor of the Georgians, which receives a great addition from another consideration, viz. the Georgian will have his provisions incomparably cheaper than the Piedmontese, because he pays no rent for the land that produces them; he lives upon his own estate. But there is still another reason why Great Britain should quickly and effectually encourage the production of silk in Georgia; for, in effect, it will cost us nothing; it will be purchased by the several manufactures of Great Britain, and this, I fear, is not our present case with respect to Piedmont: especially (if as we have been lately told) they have prohibited the importation of woollen goods into that principality.

That this little treatise may be the more satisfactory to the reader, I could wish I had been minutely informed of the present state of our silk trade; of the medium value of silk per pound; to what amount it is imported; of its duty, freight, commission and insurance; and lastly, by what returns in commerce it is purchased. I am persuaded, these estimates would afford plentiful matter for observations in favor of this position, viz. that Great Britain ought vigorously to attempt to get this trade into her own hands. I shall however aim at a computation, upon my memory of facts,

which I have heard from those who understand that commerce.

1. Great Britain imports silk from Piedmont, near the yearly value of three hundred thousand pounds.

2. The medium price is about twelve shillings per pound in Piedmont.

3. The duty here is about four shillings per pound.

4. The price of raw silk in London, is generally more than half of the price of the wrought goods in their fullest perfection.

1st Observ. If the Piedmontese paid no rent for the mulberry-tree and silk worm, he might afford silk at six shillings per pound.

2d Observ. If silk were bought in Piedmont at six shillings per pound, and imported duty free, it might be sold in London at seven shillings per pound. For, the commission, insurance and exchange, or interest of money would be but half what they are at present, and there must be some allowance for the interest of the money that was usually applied to pay the duty.

3d Observ. Therefore Great Britain, by encouraging the growth of silk in Georgia, may save above a hundred thousand pound per annum of what she lays out in Piedmont.

4th Observ. The Georgian (without taking the cheapness of his provisions into question) may enable Great Britain to undersell all her rivals in Europe in the silk manufacture in a proportion resembling what follows.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
France,	{ Raw-silk, one pound weight,	0	14	0
	{ Workmanship,	0	16	0
Total,		1	10	0
Great Britain,	{ Raw-silk, one pound weight,	0	7	0
	{ Workmanship,	0	16	0
Total,		1	3	0

The difference of these is seven pence in thirty, which is near twenty-five pound in an hundred, and is above thirty per cent. The reader is desired to consider these computations as stated by guess. But the same reasoning will

hold in a considerable degree upon the exact state of the several values.

* Rice is another growth of this province that doth not interfere with Great Britain. But we reap their harvests; for when they have sold the rice in a foreign market, they lay out the money in our manufactures to carry home with them. They have already made an handsome progress in Carolina, in cultivating this grain. They have exported above † ten thousand tons of it by weight in a year already, all produced in a few years from so small a quantity as was carried thither in a bag, fit to hold only a hundred pound sterling in silver; they have sold cargoes of it in Turkey. They have all the world for their market. A market not easily glutted.

The indulgence of the British Legislature to Carolina in this branch of their trade, shows our new Georgians what encouragement they may expect from that august body, as soon as they shall learn the management of the silk-worm. The law for the ease of the rice trade, is alone sufficient to enrich whole provinces: they are now at liberty to proceed in their voyages directly to any part of Europe, south of Cape Fenesterre, or to Asia and Africk before they touch at Great Britain. The difference of the charge of freight is not half the benefit they receive from this act of Parliament; they arrive at the desired ports time enough to forestall the markets of Spain, Portugal, and the Levant. It now frequently happens that cargoes arrive safe, which, as the law stood formerly, would have been lost at sea, by means of the deviation. This new law, in a manner, forces them into the Spanish, Portuguese, and Levant trades, and gives them two returns of commerce instead of one. They may now dispose of their American grain in the first place, and then come laden to Great Britain with the most profitable wares of the countries where they traded; and lastly, buy for ready money such British manufactures as they have occasion to carry home.

When I speak of the future trade of these happy provinces, I might expatiate upon many valuable branches of it besides the silk and rice; branches which it must‡ enjoy as

* *Descr. Abreg.*, p. 13.

† *Ib.*, p. 7.

‡ *Descr. Abreg.* p. 25. 96.

certainly as nature shall hold her course in the production of vegetables, and the revolution of seasons. But because I would not swell this treatise to too expensive a bulk, I shall content myself with acquainting the reader that they have no doubt of the kindly growth of cotton, almonds, olives, &c. And in short, of every vegetable that can be found in the best countries under the same latitude.

I foresee an objection against what is here laid down : it may be said that all the countries under the same latitude do not produce the same commodities ; that some of them are incapable of raising choice vegetables, which others of them nourish with the utmost facility. For answer to this objection, what was said in the second chapter should be considered : the intemperate heats of Barbary, Egypt and Arabia are there accounted for, from the vicinity of boundless sandy deserts ; on the other hand, near Mount Caucasus in Asia, and particularly in the kingdom of Kaschmere, or Kasmere, (which is entirely surrounded by prodigious mountains) their seasons are almost as cold as ours in England, though they lie in the same latitude with Tangier, or Gibraltar.

These instances of the temperature in countries equidistant from the Equator, are very opposite to each other, the medium between them is the happy portion of Georgia ; which therefore must be productive of most of the valuable commodities in the vegetable world.

CHAPTER VI.

Observations on the Commerce, Navigation, and Plantations of Great Britain, compared with those of some of her Neighbors.

WHOEVER would be fully informed concerning the figure which England has made in all ages, in maritime affairs, may find abundance of curious matter in Selden's *Mare Clausum*, and from his time to ours may learn facts from the *Gazettes*, or read a faithful transcript of both in Burchet's *Naval History*. I shall take notice of two remarkable periods of our

ancient maritime story, because some useful observations may be made in comparing them, both with other nations, and with ourselves in our present situation.

We are told that Edgar, king of this island, had four thousand ships, by the terror of which he subdued Norway, Denmark, all the islands of the ocean, and the greatest part of Ireland. These instances of his power are specified in a record cited by that great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, in the preface to his Fourth Report. This monarch made a naval progress yearly round this island, and once took it in his head to cause eight conquered kings to row his barge on the river Dee. But it seems that some of his successors have had such pacific ministers, as either neglected to keep our fleets in repair, or were afraid to make use of them ; for, at several periods of time, since the days of King Edgar, we find that this kingdom has been miserably insulted on the seas, and even successfully invaded by other nations.

The British Neptune slept, or slumbered, most part of the time, from the reign of King Edgar to that of Queen Elizabeth. In her days he sprung up with vigor, being roused by Spain, which was then the greatest maritime power on earth. From Queen Elizabeth to our time, our naval strength has gradually increased, insomuch that at this day, the Spanish fleets opposed to ours, would make a very contemptible figure on the ocean : we now have it in our power to lord it over the watery world. It may be worth our inquiry to know how these fluctuations have happened in the dominion of the seas ? And in the issue, that inquiry will be found pertinent to the project now on foot for planting a new colony in Georgia.

The tasks and course of life of sea-faring men are not to be learned in an instant ; their employment is a laborious trade, to be acquired only by application and industry. Money will buy all naval stores except mariners, but unless a succession of them be preserved, no wealth will be able to purchase them. The surest, the cheapest, I may justly call it, the only profitable method of supporting such a succession, is to have perpetual occasion for a multitude of seamen in a course of trade. It is indeed probable that Edgar's amazing power at sea was, for the most part, owing to his own great genius, attended with indefatigable industry in training up, and year by year augmenting the number of

his mariners ; for in those days, England had no great share of foreign traffic, people generally contenting themselves with the produce of their native country. This great Prince must therefore have grievously oppressed his vassals to enable him to keep up so great an armament ; and it is no wonder that it dwindled in succeeding reigns because it had not that solid aliment, trade, to nourish it.

The Spanish successes in America caused their shipping to increase beyond all their neighbors ; they had occasion in their beginnings there, for great numbers of transports, to carry not only men, but also horses and other cattle, and stores to their new conquests. Add to which, that Sicily and a great part of Italy belonged to them at that time. The communication with these places last mentioned, was by sea, so that they had a considerable part in the increase of the Spanish naval power.* In this flourishing condition they continued for a great part of the long reigns of their Philip the II^d, and that of our Elizabeth. She had not a fleet able to give their armada battle : her ships indeed were light and nimble, the Spanish, though larger and more numerous, were unwieldy ; therefore the lighter vessels being in no danger of a chase, fought, or stood off, as they saw occasion. But this advantage would not have been sufficient, if Providence had not interposed a tempest, for the protection of England.

The Queen knew to what causes she owed her danger and her deliverance, and became more attentive than ever to plant colonies in America. Death prevented her from executing her great designs ; but some of her best and wisest subjects, and boldest seamen, had entered so deeply into the plan, and laid it so nearly to their hearts, that what she had intended in the settlement of Virginia was in a good measure effected in the reign of King James the Ist, though the undertaking was a great * difficulty upon his timorous councils, because the Spaniards, of whom he stood in servile awe, did not approve of it. But his shame, with much debate, barely got the better of his fears, and that mine of treasure was opened to Great Britain.

This, with what else has since been executed in favor of England, both on the continent, and in the islands of that new world, has added such a weight of maritime force to the

* See a short collection of the most remarkable passages from the original to the dissolution of the Virginia Company.

natural strength which we owe to our situation, that we are able to give law to the ocean. Spain, indeed, has greater countries and more subjects in America than we have, and yet does not navigate in that trade a tenth part of the shipping that we do. By a lucky kind of poverty our dominions there have no mines of gold or silver: we must be, and ought to be contented to deal in rum, sugar, rice, tobacco, horses, beef, corn, fish, lumber, and other commodities that require great stowage; the carriage of these employs millions of tons of shipping. The value of five thousand pounds in these wares loads a vessel, which in the Spanish trade would be freighted homeward with half a million of pounds sterling. Thus has the Almighty placed the true riches of this earth on the surface of it; our rice and tobacco are more real and permanent wealth than their richest minerals. They are wealth which create a power to defend our possession of them: and without a sufficient force to defend it, the possession of all wealth is precarious. Should not Great Britain therefore be attentive to the new settlement of Georgia? What an addition will it quickly make to the tonnage of our shipping? And what a seasonable support will it prove to our island colonies, who stand in need of so near a neighborhood of their brethren.

The Dutch were esteemed all the last century the only match for England on the seas; but as a great part of their strength was merely artificial, it subsides like the vivacity of a wretch who has raised his spirits with a dose of opium. Commerce and that wealth and power which attend it may be either absolutely in the power of a state, or empire, considered in and by itself, without regard to its neighbors, which I call natural wealth, power and commerce; or they may depend upon treaties with other States, or be owing to their connivance, which pro tempore amount to a tacit agreement; these latter species I call technical wealth, &c. Such was the fishery of the Dutch, which they enjoyed by the inactivity of some of our English kings: and this must decline of course, because of our superior treasures of this kind on the banks of Newfoundland. Another branch of their artificial strength was, that by the indolence of all nations they were for a time the carriers of the universe: but the world is grown wiser, other nations begin to work for themselves, and the Netherlands will sadly find that this temporary fund of strength must also fail them. Their only natural foreign

wealth and strength is their East India trade ; part of this is truly their own, because the land that produces spices is in their possession : but when the two former branches shall be cut off, they will find that possession every day more and more precarious.

Thus the British empire has a natural wealth in itself and in its dependent members ; but it has also for many years past enjoyed an adventitious, or artificial traffic. We have been employed by all the world in the wollen manufacture, but other nations have begun of late to clothe themselves and their neighbors too. It is a fond fancy in us to imagine that there are no fleecy sheep in the world but our own, or that the rest of mankind will not learn the mystery of working in wool. We feel this trade decreasing daily, and yet there are those among us who would argue against demonstration. But when they hope, by any laws of Great Britain to hinder foreign nations from falling into the woollen manufacture, they may as well solicit an act of parliament to prevent their grass to grow, and to intercept their sunshine. I will consider one objection before I leave this point, because some imagine that we are secure in this trade, against the endeavors of all foreigners ; say they, we make better goods than can be made with any foreign wool, unless it be mixed with ours. Be it so. But then, does our great wealth and income by that trade consist only in our finest goods ? Do not our merchants complain that Ireland under-sells us in coarse goods at Lisbon ; that because their wares are coarse, they can be afforded cheap, therefore they have a ready market, while ours that are finer, but dearer, may rot in the ware-house ? What says our Russia Company ? Has not Prussia supplanted us in the clothing of the Muscovite army ? Who is ignorant of the extensiveness of the undertaking at Abbeville in Picardy ? We are sending some armed sloops to check the Irish, but who will restrain the French and Germans ? The multitude do not much value the fineness of their garments, they only desire to be warm ; it is the clothing of the millions that produces millions of money ; and this is what other countries will certainly have their share in.

Is not this a time to cast our eyes upon our *natural wealth*, and to augment it as fast as possible ? If Muscovy supplies its own woollen goods, or is supplied by any other foreigner, it ought to make us resolve to bring our naval stores from North America ; if Spain and Italy refuse our drapery, we

may reject their silk, their raisins, oil, wine, olives, and divers other merchandizes, and be supplied from Carolina and Georgia. I have been credibly informed that a gentleman, now living in this kingdom, was the first person who made pitch in America, about thirty years ago; the people whom he conversed with then, looked on his experiment as a chimera, but it has proved so real as to reduce that commodity, I think, four-fifths in its value: so that we may now buy for twenty pounds what was formerly worth a hundred pound.

France has not the same advantage as Great Britain in its situation, for maritime affairs: That country is extended wide within land, and has not the benefit of being penetrated by many deep creeks, or navigable rivers; on half its borders it is bounded with the continent; and the good harbors of France are but few, compared with the numbers of ours. These reasons of our superiority over them in maritime affairs in general, served to prevent their increasing in North America as fast as we did, and there is another special reason, viz., We have had the navigation of North America in us by the large traffic of our early settlements, and even of the French sugar colonies, which we supply with lumber, horses and provisions. We have five souls on the continent for one of theirs; their principal settlement is in a climate too cold and not very fruitful. And yet they contrive all imaginable methods of augmenting their numbers. They intermarry with the natives and convert them; and the French king supplies two thousand persons yearly with money to enable them to go thither, without being afraid that he shall drain his country of people.

It is easy to demonstrate that we can afford to send people abroad better than France and Spain. They have in each of those kingdoms more than one hundred thousand cloistered females, not permitted to propagate their species, and the number of males in a state of celibacy is still abundantly greater as it comprehends their secular and regular clergy, and a considerable part of their great armies who resolve against marriage, because of the uncomfortable prospects they have, with regard to their progeny. It may be said indeed, that these do not marry, yet many of them get children. But it must be admitted that the usual fate of that kind of propagation is to be destroyed secretly, either before, or after the birth; and the former of these crimes frequently procures barrenness in the woman. I have entered into the

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consideration of the loss by the celibacy of their males, that nobody may imagine the computation of their deficiencies should be made upon their cloistered females only.

And yet let us take a short view of their losses upon that calculation, allowing a monk, or a priest, for an husband to each immured woman. The most exact rules in this kind of arithmetic are as follows:

1st. The people who go on in an ordinary course of propagation and morality, and are not visited with some extraordinary destructive calamity, grow double in their number in one hundred years.

2d. Thirty-three years, are a sufficient allowance for a generation, or three generations to an hundred years. Now, since the Reformation, near two hundred years are elapsed, at which time celibacy was abolished in England.

Therefore, in that time France has lost more than five generations, principal of its inhabitants, at the rate of two hundred thousand in each generation, besides the accumulated numbers of cent per cent, for each hundred years, which loss must be reckoned upon the second century as interest upon interest; so that the two hundred thousand individual persons who were under the-vow in France, an hundred and eighty years ago, will twenty years hence be a negative upon their numbers to the value of eight hundred thousand people.

They who understand a little arithmetic, may divert themselves by computing the amount of all the parts of this loss of people in the five generations: to those who do not relish numbers, I fear, I have here and elsewhere been too tedious.

My aim in this chapter is to rectify the notions of some of my countrymen, upon an affair so important as our commerce; to point out the differences between a natural and an artificial trade; to instance them in our neighbors compared with ourselves; to show the industry of the French to rival us in America, in spite of their geography and their religion; and to inculcate that our strength depends on our shipping, and our shipping on our wide extended colonies, which have neither gold nor silver, and for that very reason, confirm us the more powerfully in the dominion of the seas.

If what has been offered to the public in the foregoing sheets meets a favorable reception, the author will add some farther observations hereafter on the same subject. At present he only wishes that any thing here laid down, whether fact or observation, may be of use to Great Britain.

A

VOYAGE TO GEORGIA.

BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1735.

CONTAINING

An Account of the Settling the Town of Frederica, in the Southern Part of the Province ; and a description of the Soil, Air, Birds, Beasts, Trees, Rivers, Islands, &c.

WITH

The Rules and Orders made by the Honorable the Trustees for that Settlement, including the Allowances of Provisions, Clothing, and other Necessaries to the Families and Servants which went thither.

ALSO

A Description of the Town and County of Savannah, in the Northern Part of the Province ; the manner of dividing and granting the Lands, and the Improvements there : With an Account of the Air, Soil, Rivers and Islands in that Part.

BY FRANCIS MOORE,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS INTO THE INLAND PARTS OF AFRICA.

LONDON :

1744.

A VOYAGE TO GEORGIA.

THE Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, in America, ordered a new town to be built in that colony, and an embarkation to be made for that purpose. They were pleased to appoint me to be keeper of the stores.

The following rules were given for the embarkation, viz. :

Rules for the year 1735.

“The Trustees intend this year to lay out a county, and build a new town in Georgia.

“They will give to such persons as they send upon the charity, To every man, a watch-coat; a musket and bayonet; a hatchet; a hammer; a handsaw; a shod shovel or spade; a broad hoe; a narrow hoe; a gimlet; a drawing knife; an iron pot, and a pair of pot-hooks; a frying pan; and a public grindstone to each ward or village. Each working man will have for his maintenance in the colony for one year (to be delivered in such proportions, and at such times as the Trust shall think proper) 312 lbs. of beef or pork; 104 lbs. of rice; 104 lbs. of Indian corn or peas; 104 lbs. of flour; 1 pint of strong beer a day to a man when he works and not otherwise; 52 quarts of molasses for brewing beer; 16 lbs. of cheese; 12 lbs. of butter; 8 oz. of spice; 12 lbs. of sugar; 4 gallons of vinegar; 24 lbs. salt; 12 quarts of lamp oil, and 1 lb. spun cotton; 12 lbs. of soap.

“To the mothers, wives, sisters or children of such men for one year, that is to say, to every person of the age of 12 years and upwards, the following allowance, (to be delivered as before,) 260 lbs. of beef or pork; 104 lbs. of rice; 104 lbs. of Indian corn or peas; 104 lbs. of flour; 52 quarts of molasses for brewing beer; 16 lbs. of cheese; 12 lbs. of butter; 8 oz. of spice; 12 lbs. of sugar; 4 gallons of vinegar; 24 lbs. of salt; 6 quarts of lamp oil; half lb. of spun cotton; 12 lbs. of soap.

“For every person above the age of seven, and under the age of twelve, half the said allowance, being esteemed half a head.

“And for every person above the age of two, and under the age of seven, one third of said allowance, being esteemed one third of an head.

“The trustees pay their passage from England to Georgia; and in the voyage they will have in every week four beef days, two pork days, and one fish day; and their allowance served out daily as follows:

“*On the four beef days.*—Four pounds of beef for every mess of five heads, and two pounds and a half of flour, and half a pound of suet or plums.

“*On the two pork days,* for every five heads, five pounds of pork, and two pints and a half of peas.

“*And on the fish day,* for every five heads, (the whole at sixteen ounces to the pound) two pounds and a half of fish, and half a pound of butter.

“And allow each head seven pounds of bread of fourteen ounces to the pound, by the week, and three pints of beer, and two quarts of water (whereof one of the quarts for drinking, and the other for dressing the ship provisions) each head, by the day for the space of a month; and a gallon of water (whereof two quarts for drinking, and the other two for dressing the ship provisions) each head, by the day after, during the voyage.

“The said persons are to enter into the following covenants before their embarkation, viz.

“That they will repair on board such ship as shall be provided for carrying them to the Province of Georgia; and during the voyage will quietly, soberly and obediently demean themselves, and go to such place in the said Province of Georgia, and there obey all such orders as shall be given for the better settling, establishing and governing the said colony.

“That for the first twelve months from landing in the said Province of Georgia they will work and labor in clearing their lands, making habitations and necessary defences, and in all other works for the common good and public weal of the said colony; at such times, in such manner, and according to such plan and directions as shall be given.

“And that they, from and after the expiration of the said

last mentioned twelve months, will, during the two succeeding years, abide, settle, and inhabit in the said Province of Georgia, and cultivate the lands which shall be to them and their heirs male severally allotted and given, by all such ways and means, as according to their several abilities and skills they shall be best able and capable. And such persons are to be settled in the said colony, either in new towns, or new villages. Those in the towns will have each of them a lot of sixty feet in front, and ninety feet in depth, whereon they are to build an house, and as much land in the country, as in the whole shall make up fifty acres.

“Those in the villages will have each of them a lot of fifty acres, which is to lie all together, and they are to build their house upon it.

“All lots are granted in tail male, and descend to the heirs male of their bodies forever. And in case of failure of heirs male to revert to the Trust, to be granted again to such persons, as the common council of the Trustees shall think most for the advantage of the colony; and they will have a special regard to the daughters of freeholders who have made improvements on their lots, not already provided for, by having married, or marrying persons in possessions, or entitled to lands in the Province of Georgia, in possession, or remainder.

“All lots are to be preserved separate and undivided, and cannot be united, in order to keep up a number of men equal to the number of lots, for the better defence and support of the colony.

“No person can lease out his house or lot to another, without license for that purpose, that the colony may not be ruined by absentees receiving, and spending their rents elsewhere. Therefore each man must cultivate the same by himself or servants.

“And no person can alienate his land, or any part, or any term, estate, or interest therein, to any other person, or persons without special license for that purpose; to prevent the uniting or dividing the lots.

“If any of the land so granted shall not be planted, cleared or fenced with a worm fence or pales six feet high, during the space of ten years from the date of the grant; then every part thereof not planted, cleared, or fenced as aforesaid, shall belong to the Trust, and the grant, as to such parts shall be void.

“There is reserved for the support of the colony, a rent-charge forever of two shillings sterling money for each fifty acres ; the payment of which is not to commence until ten years after the grant.

“The wives of the freeholders, in case they should survive their husbands, are, during their lives, entitled to the mansion-house and one half of the lands improved by their husbands ; that is to say, inclosed with a fence of six feet high.

“All forfeitures for non-residence, high treason, felonies, &c. are to the Trustees for the use and benefit of the colony. Negroes and rum are prohibited to be used in the said colony ; and trade with the Indians, unless licensed. None are to have the benefit of being sent upon the Charity in the manner abovementioned ; but,

“1. Such as are in decayed circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any business in England ; and who, if in debt, must have leave from their creditors to go.

“2. Such as have numerous families of children, if assisted by their respective parishes and recommended by the minister, churchwardens and overseers thereof.

“The Trustees do expect to have a good character of the said persons given ; because no drunkards, or other notoriously vicious persons will be taken.

“And for the better enabling the said persons to build the new town, and clear their lands, the Trustees will give leave to every freeholder to take over with him one male servant, or apprentice of the age of eighteen years and upwards, to be bound for not less than four years ; and will, by way of loan to such freeholder, advance the charges of passage for such servant or apprentice, and of furnishing him with the clothing and provision hereafter mentioned, to be delivered in such proportions, and at such times as the Trust shall think proper ; viz. with a pallias and bolster, and blanket for bedding ; a frock and trowsers of linsey-woolsey ; a shirt and frock and trowsers of Osnaburgs ; a pair of shoes from England, and two pair of country shoes, for clothing ; and 200 pounds of meat, and 342 pounds of rice, peas, or Indian corn for food for a year.

“The expense of which passage, clothing and provision, is to be repaid the Trustees by the master within the third year from their embarkation from England.

“And to each man servant, and the heirs male of his body forever, after the expiration of his service, upon a certificate

from his master of his having served well, will be granted twenty acres of land, under such rents and agreements as shall have been then last granted to any other men-servants in like circumstances.

“ Provided, that in case any person shall disobey such orders as they shall receive, a deduction shall be made of the whole, or any part of the above provisions.”

Signed by order of the Common Council of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, this second day of July, 1735.

BENJAMIN MARTYN, *Secretary.*

The Trustees examined at their office such persons as applied to them for the benefit of the Charity, and out of them chose those who had the best characters, and were the truest objects of compassion.

They acquainted those that they had chosen, that they must expect to go through great hardships in the beginning, and use great industry and labor, in order to acquire afterwards a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families; that they gave them lands, and a year's provisions, but that those lands were uninhabited woods; that they must lie without cover till they could build houses for themselves, live upon salt meat, drink water, work hard, keep guard for fear of enemies, clear and plant ground before they could reap any harvest; that the country was hot in summer, and that there were flies in abundance, and that thunder storms were frequent in that season; that sicknesses were dangerous to those who drank distilled liquors, and that temperance was not only necessary to preserve their substance, but their health also; that if they put their trust in God, and were temperate and industrious, they might establish themselves and families in a comfortable way upon lands of their own; but if they thought they should not be able to go through those difficulties, they advised them by no means to undertake the voyage.

Several were disheartened, which discovered that they had pleaded necessity without reason, and that they were able to live in England. The places of those who were deterred from going were filled up with others; for there were a great many more petitioned to go than there was room for. Besides the English, there were a number of persecuted German Protestants, under the conduct of Mr. Vonreck and

Captain Hermsdorf. The whole embarkation, English and foreigners, together with the Missionaries to the Indians, amounted to two hundred and twenty-seven heads, making two hundred and two people upon the Trust's account, besides Mr. Oglethorpe, the gentlemen with him, and his servants, whose passages he himself paid.

There were two ships freighted, the Symond, of two hundred and twenty tons, Captain Joseph Cornish, and the London Merchant, about the same burden, Captain John Thomas. There was a sufficient quantity of provisions for some months put on board, likewise arms, cannon, ammunition, and all kinds of tools for husbandry, and necessaries for families.

One of his Majesty's sloops, under the command of Capt. James Gascoigne, was ordered to assist the colony, and to carry over Mr. Oglethorpe, who intended to inspect the settlement; but he chose rather to go on board one of the ships, though crowded with the colony, that he might be able to take care of the people in their passage.

On the 14th of October I set out from Parliament stairs; about four in the afternoon I arrived at Poorfleet, where I dined and staid during the flood; after which I reached Gravesend about midnight. There I lay, and the next day went on board the Symond, Capt. Joseph Cornish, where the passengers upon the Trust's account had been for some days. I immediately took an account of the stores.

On the 19th a boy, as he was playing, fell overboard: a man being near him and seeing him fall, threw him a rope, and he got in again. We waited for the coming down of the London Merchant.

On the 20th the London Merchant, Capt. John Thomas, with part of the colony on board, joined us at Gravesend. I went and took an account of her cargo. The same day Mr. Oglethorpe, with Mr. Johnson, son of the late Governor of South Carolina, and several other gentlemen, who intended to accompany him in the voyage, came on board. In the afternoon we weighed and went down to the Hope.

On the 21st we sailed from the Hope, and got within three miles of the Buoy of the Nore.

On the 23d a thick fog came upon us. We made shift to get to the Buoy of the Nore, and anchored on the Kentish Flats, being not able to proceed farther.

On the 25th it blew fresh against us, and we got but little forwards.

On the 26th, early in the morning, we arrived at the Horse Shoe Hole, where we anchored for some time, and then setting sail we got to Margate Road.

On the 27th we arrived at Deal, and were forced to come to an anchor, in the Downs. We set on shore a servant belonging to one of the colony, it being discovered that he had the itch.

On the 28th it blew hard against us. The same day died a child of eight months old, being daughter to one of the colony. She was dangerously ill when she came on board.

On the 30th the wind continued to blow hard ; but Mr. Oglethorpe insisting with the Captains to sail, we ventured out, and found the wind less and more favorable at sea.

On the 1st of November we put into St. Helen's, in order to meet the man-of-war whom we expected to be ready. It being near night the ships came to anchor, and a gentleman was sent to Spithead to inquire after the man-of-war. He returned about midnight with advice that she was in Portsmouth harbor, and not yet ready.

On the 2d the ships sailed for Cowes road, and Mr. Oglethorpe went to the man-of-war sloop. As the ships passed by Spithead they saluted the Admiral's ship, which she returned.

We were detained at Cowes by contrary winds, till the 10th of December ; for though we twice broke ground, and once sailed as far as Yarmouth road, yet we were forced back again. This delay was not only very tedious to the people, but very expensive to the Trust ; since there were so many hundred mouths eating, in idleness, that which should have subsisted them till their lands were cultivated ; and that they were also losing the most useful season for that purpose.

In this time the refreshments designed for the voyage were expended, and we were forced to lay in more at an excessive price, by reason that the squadron at Spithead had made every thing dear.

Mr. Johnson, son to the late Governor of South Carolina, was taken ill here of a fever, which prevented his going the voyage. This was a great disappointment ; for if he had gone to Carolina, as intended, a man of his interest and good

sense being at Charlestown, whilst Mr. Oglethorpe was at the southward, might have prevented the misunderstandings which afterwards happened.

On the 10th of December the wind at E. S. E. and a moderate gale, we, in company with the Hawk, the London Merchant, and about forty sail more, who had been forced to stay by the long continuance of contrary winds, stood out for sea.

When we had past the Needles the pilot left us. The London Merchant lay by a little for three of the passengers, who happened to be gone to Portsmouth when the wind came fair; but it was all to no purpose, for they not coming up in time, were left behind.

On the 12th we parted with the Hawk, the wind blowing very hard.

I believe a journal of the winds and days of the month will be but dry to the reader, and that it may divert him more to hear which way our floating colony were subsisted and passed their time on board.

We had prayers twice a day. The missionaries expounded the Scriptures, catechized the children, and administered the sacrament on Sundays; but Mr. Oglethorpe shewed no discountenance to any for being of different persuasions in religion. The Dissenters, of which there were many on board, particularly the Germans, sung psalms and served God in their own way. Mr. Oglethorpe had laid in a large quantity of live stock, and other refreshments, (though he himself seldom ate any but ship's provisions.) Not only the gentlemen, his friends, ate at his table, but he invited, through the whole passage, the missionaries and the captain of the ship, who together made twelve in number.

All those who came upon the Trust's account were divided into messes; and besides the ship's provisions, the Trustees were so careful of the poor people's health, that they put on board turnips, carrots, potatoes, and onions, which were given out with the salt meat, and contributed greatly to prevent the scurvy. The ship was divided into cabins, with gang-ways, which we call streets between them. The people were disposed into these by families; the single men were put by themselves. Each cabin had its door and partition. Whenever the weather would permit, the ship was cleaned between decks and washed with vinegar, which

kept the place very sweet and healthy. There were constables appointed to prevent any disorders, and every thing was carried so easily, that during the whole voyage there was no occasion for punishing any one, excepting a boy who was whipped for stealing turnips.

When the weather permitted, the men were exercised with small arms. There were also thread, worsted, and knitting needles given to the women, who employed their leisure time in making stockings and caps for their family, or in mending their clothes and linen.

Mr. Oglethorpe, when occasion offered, called together all those who were designed to be freeholders, recommended to them in what manner to behave themselves, acquainted them of the nature of the country, and how to settle it advantageously.

We went south as far as the nineteenth degree of north latitude, in order to fetch the trade winds, so that about Christmas it was as hot as in June. Our people grew sickly. Mr. Oglethorpe himself visited them constantly; and when it was proper he let them have fowls for broth, and any refreshments of his own. We had a very good surgeon, and I observed that carduus vomits gave the sick great relief. If that did not do, bleeding, and some powders which the doctor gave, (which were chiefly either compositions of salt or wormwood, or testaceous powders) had such effect, that, by the blessing of God, not one soul died from the time we left the Downs to our arrival in Georgia. Instead of lessening our number we increased it, for on the passage there were four children born.

Whenever the weather was calm enough to permit it, Mr. Oglethorpe went on board the London Merchant, to see that the like care was taken of the people on board her, with whom we kept company all the way.

Having run before the trade wind till we had got westing sufficient, and being as far south as twenty degrees, we were obliged to stand northwardly to fetch Georgia, which lies in the latitude of thirty-two, so that we had a second winter, for we found the weather cold as we came near the coast of Georgia.

On the twenty-sixth of January it blew so hard, that we were obliged to lie to under a reefed mainsail. We shipped several seas, one of which filled the great cabin, though the

dead lights were up ; and another splitted our mainsail, which was quite new : we soon unbent it, and brought the ship to under her mizzen.

On the 2d of February, at noon, we saw three sails standing E. N. E. We bore up to them, and soon after spoke with the Pompey, Captain Rowse, bound for London from Carolina. He lay by whilst Mr. Oglethorpe wrote letters to England, which he sent by him.

On the 4th we found we had passed the stream of the Gulf of Florida. We sounded, and found ground with fifty fathom of line, being the banks of Georgia, which shoal gradually to shore, at that time about thirty leagues distant. In the evening we saw land, which proved to be the island of Tybee. We lay off and on all night.

On the 5th we ran in, and made Tybee plain. Captain Dymond, of the Peter and James, came out to us in his boat, and brought a pilot with him. He carried us over the bar with the first of the flood, finding nineteen foot water in the shoalest part. We came to an anchor within Tybee.

Mr. Oglethorpe went ashore to see what progress was made in the light house : he found the foundation had been piled but the brick-work not raised. The materials which he had left sawed at Savannah were brought down, but nothing set up. He had left one Blytheman, a carpenter, a very ingenious workman, in charge to build it, allowing him ten men for his assistance ; and fearing that if he left any one to control the carpenter, (who naturally must understand less of it) it might have prevented the work ; therefore he left it in the carpenter's charge, at his peril. Mr. Oglethorpe calling him to account for this scandalous neglect, he had nothing to say in excuse, but that he had used the men in clearing away the trees, that the beacon might be the more conspicuous ; that a great deal of time had been taken up in piling the foundation, and in bringing down and landing the timber ; that he had made a great many more braces than at first had been thought necessary ; but that the chief reason of his delay arose from his men's not working ; that rum was so cheap in Carolina, from whence they easily got it, that one day's pay would make them drunk for a week, and then they neither minded him nor any thing else. I heard Mr. Oglethorpe, after he returned to the ship, say, that he was in doubt whether he should prosecute the man, who is the

only one here able to finish the work, and thereby leave the work undone, and lose the materials, which were all ready; or else forgive what was past, and have the beacon finished. He took the latter counsel, and agreed with him for a time certain, and a price certain, appointing Mr. Vanderplank to see that the work advanced according to the agreement: and not to pay but proportionably to what should be done. This beacon is twenty-five foot wide at bottom, ninety feet high, and ten foot wide at top. It is of the best of pine, strongly timbered, raised upon cedar piles, and brick-work round the bottom. It will be, when raised, of great service to all shipping, not only to those bound to this port, but also to Carolina; for the land of all the coast, for some hundred miles, is so alike, being all low and woody, that a distinguishing mark is of great consequence.

There is an Island called Peeper, lying in the mouth of the Savannah river, between which and Tybee there is a very good harbor. In the evening we came to anchor there, where lay the following ships: The Prince of Wales, Capt. Dunbar, the Two Brothers, Capt. Thomson, and the Peter and James, Capt. Dymond, who were all on the Trustee's account, with stores and men for the southward settlement, and obliged to stay on demurrage, by reason of our being unluckily delayed by contrary winds at Cowes. Mr. Oglethorpe employed all hands to discharge them, that he might stop the expense of demurrage as soon as possible. All the ships saluted Mr. Oglethorpe with their cannon on our coming to anchor; after which, he sent an express to Charlestown, and to Lieut. Delegal, (who commanded the King's independent company at Port Royal) for the company to repair to St. Simon's.

We learnt from Capt. Dunbar, who had brought over one hundred and seventy Highlanders, that Capt. Hugh Mackay was set out for the Altamaha river; he being gone first with part of the men, and having left the families to follow after. — That there had been several reports spread among the Highlanders, by the sutlers who brought them provisions, that the Spaniards and Indians would certainly destroy them, notwithstanding which they went up.

On the 6th, early, Mr. Oglethorpe set out for Savannah, but he first carried the people on shore upon Peeper island, and shewed them where to dig a well, which they did, and

found a plenty of fresh water. He was received at Savannah by the freeholders under arms, and under the salute of twenty-one cannons, which we heard plainly, being about ten miles distance.

After Mr. Oglethorpe was gone to Savannah, most of the colony went ashore upon Peeper island, where I found an eagle's nest on a fir tree; we cut it down, and found an egg in it, in which was a young eagle. In the evening the people found another spring, and also a pond of fresh water, which they used for washing their linen. A small sloop passed by us for Savannah, bound thither with provisions from Carolina.

On the 7th all our women went ashore on Peeper island to wash their linen. A boat came down from Savannah with some fresh beef, pork, venison, and other refreshments, sent by Mr. Oglethorpe for the people on board this ship and the London Merchant. In the evening we had a smart shower of rain, which wetted our good women to the skins, before they could get aboard.

On the 8th some boats with sutlers came on board with provisions to sell to the passengers. They privately brought some rum; which being discovered, the officers who were left by Mr. Oglethorpe to keep orders on board, during his absence, ordered the same to be staved; which was accordingly complied with. The boat returned which had been sent to Port Royal, with answer, that the refreshments which had been bespoke from England, for the use of the colony, were not ready. She immediately proceeded up to Savannah, having packets of letters for Mr. Oglethorpe, who in the evening returned from thence in a scout boat. This was a strong built, swift boat, with three swivel guns and ten oars, kept for the visiting the river passages, and islands, and for preventing the incursions of enemies, or runaways, from whence it is called scout-boat. The crew is composed of men bred in America, bold and hardy, who lie out in the woods and upon the water months together, without a house or covering. Most of them are good hunters or fishers. By killing deer and other game they can subsist themselves, in case their provisions should fail; but indeed on these sea-islands, no one can starve, since if at the worst, a man was lost, there are oysters and shell-fish enough to subsist him.

Mr. Oglethorpe brought with him fresh meat, and other refreshments in plenty, which he distributed to the new comers, consisting of fresh beef, fresh pork, venison, wild turkeys, soft bread, (the word soft is put to distinguish it from biscuit, because at sea they call biscuit bread,) strong beer, small beer, turnips and garden greens; and this in such plenty that there was enough for the whole colony for some days. This was doubly agreeable to the colony, both because they found the comfort of fresh food after a long voyage, and also that a town begun within these three years, by people in their own circumstances, could produce such plenty; from whence they hoped themselves should be in as good or better a condition within that time. The people were not a little surprised at the news, which came by the boat, that Mr. Vonreck and the Germans did not go to the southward with them. This is the more extraordinary, because Mr. Vonreck said, that he went up to Ebenezer to get some more men from thence, who are acquainted with the colony, to increase the strength of the new town. But this did not daunt our inhabitants (that were to be) of Frederica, (for so our town was to be called,) though to be sure, the losing half our number was a great lessening of our strength. The reason we heard he gave for the Germans going up to Ebenezer and not with us, was, that they might have the benefit of the two ministers, who were settled at Ebenezer, and that they might not divide the congregation. Others of the Germans did not care to go to the southward, because, they said, fighting was against their religion, and they apprehended blows might happen there. But Captain Hermsdorf came to Mr. Oglethorpe, and desired that he might be put upon every occasion of service, if there was any, and that he would never forsake him, but serve with the English to the last. Mr. Oglethorpe told him that the stories of war were quite groundless; that there was as little danger to the southward, as to the northward; that the Indians were at friendship with us, and the Spaniards at peace; and that as we would not molest them it was not to be supposed that they would break the peace and attack us. Yet still caution was the mother of safety, and therefore it was fitting to keep the men to arms and discipline; and for that purpose he should be glad of his assistance.

It was intended when we came from London, that these

two ships should have sailed into Jekyl sound, and have landed the colony, and all the stores, at the place where the town was to be built ; and for this purpose, there had been an agreement made to pay demurrage for the loss of time there. The Captains did not care to venture down, and gave many reasons. Captain Cornish perceiving the great damage that must arise to the Trust by their ships not going down, proposed that if Mr. Oglethorpe would send down Captain Yokely with the James, to discover the channel, they would go down, and in, he piloting of them. Captain Thomas agreed to the same proposal, and Mr. Oglethorpe accordingly agreed with Captain Yokely.

Mr. Oglethorpe seemed very uneasy at their not going to Frederica at once, but did not care to force them ; the words of the agreement being not quite clear, and there was no sworn pilot, who could take charge of the ships in ; for one Miller, the pilot who had surveyed that entry by Mr. Oglethorpe's order, was gone from Savannah before his arrival ; and Kilbury, another pilot, who knew the same, was dead, and the man-of-war was not yet arrived, whom we depended upon to have gone in first.

Mr. Oglethorpe spoke to the people to prevent their being terrified with false reports. There seemed to be little need of it, for they were all zealous to settle a town of their own, and trusting entirely to him, were not at all apprehensive of any danger, but were fearful of staying and losing their time at Savannah.

After three hours stay, he set out for Savannah and took me along with him. About midnight we arrived there, but being then high-water, and the German ministers who were to go with him to Ebenezer, not caring to go by night, he could not go forward as he intended, some of the boatmen being ill, and the freshes strong. He lay that night at a house which he hires at Savannah ; it is the same as the common freeholders' houses are, a frame of sawed timber twenty-four by sixteen foot, floored with rough deals, the sides with feather-edged boards unplanned, and the roof shingled.

On the 9th, I heard that the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer were very discontented ; that they demanded to leave their old town, and to settle upon the lands which the Indians had reserved for their own use ; and this was the occasion of Mr.

Oglethorpe's going up in such haste at a time when he could be ill spared from the ships. He set out this morning tide, with several gentlemen, and the Saltzburghers' ministers, and went by water to Sir Francis Bathurst's, where part of Captain Mackay's troops of horsemen, lately come out of the Indian country, lay : there he took horse for Ebenezer.

When he was gone, I took a view of the town of Savannah. It is about a mile and a quarter in circumference ; it stands upon the flat of a hill, the bank of the river (which they in barbarous English call a bluff) is steep and about forty-five foot perpendicular, so that all heavy goods are brought up by a crane, an inconvenience designed to be remedied by a bridged wharf, and an easy ascent, which in laying out the town, care was taken to allow room for, there being a very wide strand between the first row of houses and the river. From this strand there is a very pleasant prospect ; you see the river wash the foot of the hill, which is a hard, clear, sandy beach, a mile in length ; the water is fresh, and the river one thousand foot wide. Eastward you see the river increased by the northern branch, which runs round Hutchinson's island, and the Carolina shore beyond it, and the woody islands at the sea, which close the prospect at ten or twelve miles distance. Over against it is Hutchinson's island, great part of which is open ground, where they mow hay for the Trust's horses and cattle. The rest is woods in which there are many bay trees eighty foot high. Westward you see the river winding between the woods, with little islands in it for many miles, and Toma Chi Chi's Indian town standing upon the southern banks, between three and four miles distance.

The town of Savannah is built of wood ; all the houses of the first forty freeholders are of the same size with that Mr. Oglethorpe lives in, but there are great numbers built since, I believe one hundred or one hundred and fifty, many of these are much larger ; some of two or three stories high, the boards plained and painted. The houses stand on large lots, sixty foot in front by ninety foot in depth ; each lot has a fore and back street to it ; the lots are fenced in with split pales ; some few people have palisades of turned wood before their doors, but the generality have been wise enough not to throw away their money, which in this country laid out in husbandry is capable of great improvements, though

there are several people of good substance in the town, who came at their own expense, and also several of those who came over on the Charity, are in a very thriving way ; but this is observed that the most substantial people are the most frugal, and make the least show, and live at the least expense. There are some also who have made but little or bad use of the benefits they received, idling away their times, whilst they had their provisions from the public store, or else working for hire, earning from two shillings, the price of a laborer, to four or five shillings, the price of a carpenter, per diem, and spending that money in rum and good living, thereby neglecting to improve their lands, so that when their time of receiving their provisions from the public ceased, they were in no forwardness to maintain themselves out of their own lands. As they chose to be hirelings when they might have improved for themselves, the consequence of that folly forces them now to work for their daily bread. These are generally discontented with the country ; and if they have run themselves in debt, their creditors will not let them go away till they have paid. Considering the number of people, there are but very few of these. The industrious ones have thrived beyond expectation ; most of them that have been there three years, and many others have houses in the town, which those that let, have for the worst ten pounds per annum, and the best for thirty pounds.

Those who have cleared their five acre lots, have made a very great profit out of them by greens, roots, and corn. Several have improved the cattle they had at first, and have now five or six tame cows ; others who, to save the trouble of feeding them, let them go into the woods, can rarely find them, and when they are brought up, one of them will not give half the quantity of milk, which another cow fed near home will give. Their houses are built at a pretty large distance from one another, for fear of fire ; the streets are very wide, and there are great squares left at proper distances, for markets and other conveniences. Near the river side there is a guard house inclosed with palisades a foot thick where there are nineteen or twenty cannons mounted, and a continual guard kept by the freeholders. This town is governed by three bailiffs, and has a recorder, register, and a town-court, which is holden every six weeks, where all matters civil and criminal are decided by grand and petty juries,

as in England ; but there are no lawyers allowed to plead for hire, nor no attorneys to take money, but (as in old times in England) every man pleads his own cause. In case it should be an orphan, or one that cannot speak for themselves, there are persons of the best substance in the town, appointed by the Trustees to take care of the orphans, and to defend the helpless, and that without fee or reward, it being a service that each that is capable must perform in his turn. They have some laws and customs peculiar to Georgia ; one is, that all brandies and distilled liquors are prohibited under severe penalties ; another is, that no slavery is allowed, nor negroes ; a third that all persons who go among the Indians must give security for their good behavior ; because the Indians, if any injury is done to them, and they cannot kill the man who does it, expect satisfaction from the government, which if not procured, they break out into war, by killing the first white man they conveniently can. No victualler or ale-house keeper can give any credit, so consequently cannot recover any debt. The freeholds are all entailed, which has been very fortunate for the place. If people could have sold, the greatest part, before they knew the value of their lots, would have parted with them for a trifling condition, and there were not wanting rich men who employed agents to monopolize the whole town ; and if they had got numbers of lots into their own hands, the other freeholders would have had no benefit by letting their houses, and hardly of trade, since the rich, by means of a large capital, would underlet and undersell, and the town must have been almost without inhabitants, as Port Poyal in Carolina is, by the best lots being got into a few hands.

The mentioning the laws and customs leads me to take notice that Georgia is founded upon maxims different from those on which other colonies have been begun. The intention of that colony was an asylum to receive the distressed. This was the charitable design, and the governmental view besides that, was, with numbers of free white people, well settled to strengthen the southern part of the English settlements on the continent of America of which this is the frontier. It is necessary, therefore, not to permit slaves in such a country, for slaves starve the poor laborer. For if the gentleman can have this work done by a slave who is a carpenter or a brick-layer, the carpenter or brick-layers of that

country must starve for want of employment, and so of other trades.

In order to maintain many people, it was proper that the land should be divided into small portions, and to prevent the uniting them by marriage or purchase. For every time that two lots are united, the town loses a family, and the inconveniency of this shows itself at Savannah, notwithstanding the care of the Trustees to prevent it. They suffered the moiety of the lots to descend to the widows during their lives: those who remarried to men who had lots of their own, by uniting two lots made one be neglected; for the strength of hands who could take care of one, was not sufficient to look to and improve two. These uncleared lots are a nuisance to their neighbors. The trees which grow upon them shade the lots, the beasts take shelter in them, and for want of clearing the brooks which pass through them, the lands above are often prejudiced by floods. To prevent all these inconveniences, the first regulation of the Trustees was a strict Agrarian law, by which all the lands near towns should be divided, fifty acres to each freeholder. The quantity of land by experience seems rather too much, since it is impossible that one poor family can tend so much land. If this allotment is too much, how much more inconvenient would the uniting of two be? To prevent it, the Trustees grant the lands in tail male, that on the expiring of a male line they may regrant it to such man, having no other lot, as shall be married to the next female heir of the deceased, as is of good character. This manner of dividing prevents also the sale of lands, and the rich thereby monopolizing the country.

Each freeholder has a lot in town sixty foot by ninety foot, besides which he has a lot beyond the common, of five acres for a garden. Every ten houses make a tithing, and to every tithing there is a mile square, which is divided into twelve lots, besides roads: each freeholder of the tithing has a lot or farm of forty-five acres there, and two lots are reserved by the Trustees in order to defray the charge of the public. The town is laid out for two hundred and forty freeholds; the quantity of lands necessary for that number is twenty-four square miles; every forty houses in town make a ward, to which four square miles in the country belong; each ward has a constable, and under him four tithing men. Where

the town lands end, the villages begin ; four villages make a ward without, which depends upon one of the wards within the town. The use of this is, in case a war should happen, the villages without may have places in the town, to bring their cattle and families into for refuge, and to that purpose there is a square left in every ward, big enough for the outwards to encamp in. There is ground also kept round about the town ungranted, in order for the fortifications whenever occasion shall require. Beyond the villages, commence lots of five hundred acres : these are granted upon terms of keeping ten servants, &c. Several gentlemen who have settled on such grants have succeeded very well, and have been of great service to the colony. Above the town is a parcel of land called Indian lands ; these are those reserved by king Toma Chi Chi for his people. There is near the town, to the east, a garden belonging to the Trustees, consisting of ten acres ; the situation is delightful, one half of it is upon the top of the hill, the foot of which the river Savannah washes, and from it you see the woody islands in the sea. The remainder of the garden is the side and some plain low ground at the foot of the hill, where several fine springs break out. In the garden is variety of soils ; the top is sandy and dry, the sides of the hill are clay, and the bottom is a black, rich garden mould well watered. On the north part of the garden is left standing a grove of part of the old wood, as it was before the arrival of the colony there. The trees in the grove are mostly bay, sassafras, evergreen oak, pellitory, hickory, American ash, and the laurel tulip. This last is looked upon as one of the most beautiful trees in the world ; it grows straight-bodied to forty or fifty foot high ; the bark smooth and whitish, the top spreads regular like an orange tree in English gardens, only larger ; the leaf is like that of a common laurel, but bigger, and the under side of a greenish brown ; it blooms about the month of June ; the flowers are white, fragrant like the orange, and perfume all the air around it ; the flower is round, eight or ten inches diameter, thick like the orange flower, and a little yellow near the heart. As the flowers drop, the fruit which is a cone with red berries succeeds them. There are also some bay trees that have flowers like the laurel, only less.

The garden is laid out with cross-walks planted with orange trees, but the last winter, a good deal of snow having

fallen, had killed those upon the top of the hill down to their roots, but they being cut down sprouted again, as I saw when I returned to Savannah. In the squares between the walks, were vast quantities of mulberry trees, this being a nursery for all the province, and every planter that desires it has young trees given him gratis from this nursery. These white mulberry trees were planted in order to raise silk, for which purpose several Italians were brought at the Trustees' expense, from Piedmont by Mr. Amatis; they have fed worms, and wound silk to as great perfection as any that ever came out of Italy; but the Italians falling out, one of them stole away the machines for winding, broke the coppers and spoiled all the eggs which he could not steal, and fled to South Carolina. The others who continued faithful, had saved but a few eggs when Mr. Oglethorpe arrived; therefore he forbade any silk should be wound, but that all the worms should be suffered to eat through their balls, in order to have more eggs against next year. The Italian women are obliged to take English girls apprentices, whom they teach to wind and feed; and the men have taught our English gardeners to tend the mulberry trees, and our joiners have learned how to make the machines for winding. As the mulberry trees increase, there will be a great quantity of silk made here.

Besides the mulberry trees, there are in some of the quarters in the coldest part of the garden all kinds of fruit trees usual in England, such as apples, pears, &c. In another quarter are olives, figs, vines, pomegranates and such fruits as are natural to the warmest parts of Europe. At the bottom of the hill, well sheltered from the north wind and in the warmest part of the garden, there was a collection of West India plants and trees, some coffee, some cocoa-nuts, cotton, Palma-christi, and several West Indian physical plants, some sent up by Mr. Eveleigh, a public-spirited merchant at Charlestown, and some by Dr. Houstoun, from the Spanish West Indies, where he was sent at the expense of a collection raised by that curious physician, Sir Hans Sloan, for to collect and send them to Georgia, where the climate was capable of making a garden which might contain all kinds of plants, to which design, his Grace, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Peters, and the Apothecary's Company contributed very generously; as did

Sir Hans himself. The quarrels among the Italians proved fatal to most of these plants, and they were laboring to repair that loss when I was there, Mr. Miller being employed in the room of Dr. Houstoun, who died in Jamaica. We heard he had wrote an account of his having obtained the plant from whence the true Balsamum Capivi is drawn; and that he was in hopes of getting that from whence the Jesuits' Bark is taken, he designing for that purpose to send to the Spanish West Indies.

There is a plant of Bamboo cane brought from the East Indies, and sent over by Mr. Towers which thrives well. There was also some tea seeds, which came from the same place; but the latter, though great care was taken, did not grow.

Three miles from Savannah, within land, that is to say to the south, are two pretty villages, Hampstead and Highgate, where the planters are very forward, having built neat huts, and cleared and planted a great deal of land. Up the river also there are several other villages and two towns, not much better than villages, on the Georgia side, the one called Joseph's town, which some Scotch gentlemen are building at their own expense, and where they have already cleared a great deal of ground. Above that is Ebenezer, a town of the Saltzburghers. On the Carolina side is Purysburgh, chiefly inhabited by Swiss. There are also a party of rangers under the command of Capt. McPherson, and another under the command of Capt. Æneas M'Intosh; the one lying upon the Savannah river, the other upon the Ogeechee. These are horsemen and patrol the woods to see that no enemy Indians, nor other lawless persons, shelter themselves there.

There were no public buildings in the town, besides a storehouse; for the courts were held in a hut thirty foot long, and twelve foot wide, made of split boards, and erected on Mr. Oglethorpe's first arrival in the colony. In this hut also divine service was performed; but upon his arrival this time Mr. Oglethorpe ordered a house to be erected in the upper square, which might serve for a court house, and for divine service till a church could be built, and a work house over against it; for as yet there was no prison here.

Two ships lay close to the town, the James, Capt. Yockey, in the Trustees' service, waiting for our arrival, (with pro-

visions) and another ship from Bristol, Capt. Dickens, commander, loaded with passengers. The water is not only deep, but thoroughly sheltered from hurricanes, and, being fresh, there are no worms, an advantage few ports have in America.

On the 10th I went on board the *Two Brothers*, Capt. Thomson, and unloaded her, sending some part of her cargo up to Savannah store, and the remainder on board the *James*, Capt. Yokely, who on the unwillingness of the other ships, as before mentioned, Mr. Oglethorpe engaged to go and try the entrance of Jekyl sound, his ship being but about a hundred tons burden.

On the 11th Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Ebenezer to Savannah, where he found Captain Yokely, not ready to sail. I heard that he had given leave to the Saltzburghers to remove from Old Ebenezer to a place called the Red Bluff, upon the river Savannah. Some people had infused such notions into them, that they were obstinately resolved to quit Old Ebenezer, where they had very good houses ready built, a pleasant situation, a fine range for cattle, and a good deal of ground cleared. Mr. Oglethorpe in vain advised them against the change, and told them, that sickness would naturally follow the clearing a new town; but they insisting, he granted their request. Mr. Oglethorpe, in this journey, pursuant to the Trustees' orders, and to save expense, reduced Mr. Patrick Mackay's company that was come down from the Indian nation. He called at Purysburgh, on his return from Ebenezer.

On the 12th Mr. Oglethorpe went from Savannah down to the ships at Tybee, having first raised fifty rangers, and one hundred workmen, and sent Captain M'Pherson with a parcel of his rangers, over land to support the Highlanders on the Altamaha river. These Highlanders under the command of Captain Hugh Mackay, were settled on the Altamaha river, within one mile and a half of where fort King-George formerly stood, and where His Majesty's independent company had been garrisoned for several years. The want of supplies and communication with Carolina, obliged them to abandon the garrison and destroy the fort. Therefore the first thing was to open a communication by land, that the like distress might not again happen. Mr. Oglethorpe ordered Mr. Walter Augustine and Mr. Tolme to

survey the country from Savannah to the Alatomaha, to know where a road might be most conveniently made, and appointed Mr. Hugh Mackay, Jr. with ten rangers to escort them, and two pack horsemen to carry provisions for them. Toma Chi Chi also sent some Indians with them.

On the 14th Toma Chi Chi, Scenauky his wife, Tooannahowi, his nephew, and several attendants, came down to visit Mr. Oglethorpe on board the Symond, carrying with them venison; milk, honey, and other Indian refreshments.

Toma Chi Chi acquainted Mr. Oglethorpe that he had sent up to the Creek nation notice of his arrival by two chief men, who had staid on purpose for some months, they having so long expected him. That he had sent a party of Indians to assist Capt. Mackay at the Darien: that the Uchee Indians complained that cattle were passed over into their country, contrary to the capitulation; and that planters had come and settled negroes there. Part of these cattle belonged to the Saltzburghers, who had passed over the Ebenezer river into the Uchee lands; and the rest, as also the negroes, belonged to some of the inhabitants of South Carolina. Upon this the following orders were issued to Capt. Æneas M'Intosh:

“Tybee Road, 14th February, 1735-6.

“Being informed by the Indians, that several persons, contrary to the treaties with them made, have carried over cattle and negroes, and have planted on the Georgia side of the river: You are hereby authorized and required to give notice to the same persons to withdraw their horses, cattle, and negroes, out of Georgia; and if within three days they do not withdraw their negroes, you are to seize and bring the negroes to the town of Savannah, and deliver them to the magistrates there; and proceeding shall be had if they leave their cattle beyond the said term.

(Copy.)

JAMES OGLETHORPE.”

This day Mr. Oglethorpe sent up the act, entitled, An act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia, prepared by the honorable Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and approved by his most excellent Majesty King George the II^d in council, on the 3^d day of April, in the year of our Lord 1735, and in the eighth

year of his Majesty's reign to Savannah Town, (alias New Windsor) and from thence to every trader amongst the Indians, and notice was given them to conform thereunto.

Scenauky presented the missionaries two large jars, one of honey, and one of milk, and invited them to come up to their new town at Yamacraw, and teach the children there; and told them that the honey and milk was a representation of their inclinations. The same evening, having done my business on board Captain Thomson, I went down to the ships in the scout boat. About midnight came to anchor at Tybee a sloop from New York, called the Midnight, loaded with provisions.

On the 15th Captain Yokely not being yet come down, Mr. Oglethorpe was much concerned at the delay, which was of great damage to the poor people, who by not being on their lands, were losing the best season both for building and improving (which is the winter.) Besides, we were apprehensive that the Spanish Indians might undertake something against the Highlanders, if they were not strengthened; who also might be uneasy at finding themselves not supported; and that the Spaniards themselves might perhaps take possession of the mouths of the harbors, and drive off and conquer the English Indians, who were then, and have long been in possession of those islands, and to whom they belonged for several ages. The danger of sickness, and damage of goods, besides the expense and hazard of sending the people in open boats, was very great; and if no vessel lay in the entrance, if the Spaniards should come up with the smallest ship, they might entrench themselves under the shelter of the ship's cannon, in spite of all that the English Indians could do. Mr. Oglethorpe spoke to both the Captains to go and anchor at the entrance of Jekyl sound, and go in with boats (which he would furnish and go with himself) sound the bar and carry their ships in. They remonstrated the danger and impossibility of merchant ships making discoveries. At last this expedient was thought of; to buy the cargo of the Midnight sloop, who arrived last night, on condition that she should go into Jekyl sound, and deliver the cargo at Frederica in the Alatomaha. Captain Cornish and Captain Thomas consented to go board the sloop, and in her to try the entrance, and promised them to come back and carry their ships in, who, in the mean time,

would lie in safety in Tybee harbor. Mr. Oglethorpe agreed for the cargo; the master of the sloop, one Barnes, being a brisk man and very willing to undertake the discovery of the entrance, seeing it was for the public service. Mr. Oglethorpe ordered Mr. Horton and Mr. Tanner, with thirty of the single men of the colony, on board the sloop, with cannon, arms, ammunition, and tools for entrenching, with whom Captain Cornish and Captain Thomas went down by sea to meet him at Frederica; himself going down by the channels within the islands. Such diligence was used, that the sloop sailed by eight the next morning. Mr. Oglethorpe ordered from Savannah the workmen that he had engaged there; also more Indians from Toma Chi Chi; and those Indians who were already down, to rendezvous at certain posts, where he might send for them as occasion should require.

On the 16th, in the evening, Mr. Oglethorpe set out in the scout boat, through the inland channels to meet the sloop at Jekyl sound. He carried with him Capt. Hermsdorf, two of the colony, and some Indians. Capt. Dunbar also accompanied him with his boat. I was left with the ships, having charge of their cargoes.

On the 17th Capt. Yokely came down to Tybee from Savannah.

On the 18th he began to take beef and other provisions out of Capt. Dymond, for Frederica; and before he had completed his cargo, the wind came about so that he could not get out.

Before Mr. Oglethorpe set out for the Southward, Lieutenant Delegal, who at that time commanded his Majesty's independent company at Port Royal, waited upon him, pursuant to his letter, to acquaint him with the circumstances of the company, and what provisions would be necessary for their subsistence, and what boats for their embarkation, that company being ordered to St. Simons.

A gentleman with letters to the Governor of Augustine, from the person charged with the King of Spain's affairs at the court of England, came over in the ship Symond. Mr. Oglethorpe, before he went to Alatomaha, left orders with Major Richard of Puryburgh to conduct that gentleman in a six-oared boat, being the best then to be got, to Augustine: and also by the same occasion sent a letter to that Governor.

Mr. Spangenburg acquainted Mr. Oglethorpe, that several Germans with whom he had an influence were gone to Pennsylvania instead of Georgia, and that he would go thither and fetch them, to be an increase of strength to the colony. Mr. Oglethorpe told him, that he would not inveigle any from another colony; but if Mr. Penn, the proprietor of that Province, was desirous they should come away, he was willing to receive them; therefore he gave letters for Mr. Penn to Mr. Spangenburg.

On the 19th, Major Richard set out for St. Augustine, with the gentleman for that place.

Whilst Mr. Oglethorpe was absent, the colony that remained with us were employed, some in helping to build the Beacon at Tybee, and some in hunting and fishing; they all went daily on shore to Peeper island, but none went up to Savannah, nor no boats came to them without license, for fear some unwary people should be drawn to spend what little they had in buying refreshments, and lest they should make themselves sick, by drinking drams and eating trash. They had plenty of fresh provisions and good beer provided for them, which made this restraint not inconvenient. They washed their linen and dressed their meat on shore with fires made of cedar and bay trees, which to people new come from England, seemed an extraordinary luxury. On the shore were oyster banks, dry at low water, where they took as many as they pleased, the oysters being very good.

I observed here a kind of long moss I had never seen before; it grows in great quantities upon the large trees, and hangs down three or four yards from the boughs; it gives a noble, ancient, and hoary look to the woods; it is of a whitish green color, but when dried is black and like horse-hair. This the Indians use for wadding their guns, and making their couches soft under the skins of beasts which serve them for beds. They use it also for tinder, striking fire by flashing the pans of their guns into a handful of it, and for all other uses where old linen would be necessary.

On the 23d, Col. Bull, one of his Majesty's council in Carolina, arrived here in his own periagua, with letters from the Lieutenant Governor, Council and Assembly of that Province; for Mr. Oglethorpe. I offered him the ship's great cabin, and all provisions and necessaries, but he refused it, having himself a cabin fitted up with all conveniences aboard

his own periagua ; howsoever he did us the favor to dine on board.

Nothing remarkable happened on board till Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the southward, which was on the 25th, in the evening. I had from one who went along with him the following account.

“The scout boat went along through channels, between the islands and the main ; these channels are in some places above a mile, and in others not above two hundred yards wide. In many places the woods of pines, evergreen oaks, and cedar trees grow close to the water side, which with the clear sea-green color and stillness of the channels, sheltered by the woods, is very delightful to the eye. In other places, on the banks, are wide marshes, so hard that cattle feed upon them, though at some of the very highest spring tides they are just covered with water. We passed between the island of Wilmington and the main ; upon the latter, we landed at one Mr. Lacy’s, where five gentlemen of five hundred acre lots have built their houses together, that they might be the more easily fortified, which they are with palisades well flanked with several pieces of cannon. They with masters and servants make the garrison, and in all times of apprehension do regular duty ; one of the masters with proportion of servants, mounting guard each night. They have cleared above one hundred acres of land round the fort. They have milk, cattle, hogs, garden stuff, and poultry in such plenty, that they sent at different times several bushes of eggs down to Frederica. This fort commands the water passage between the islands to Savannah. It stands high, the banks of the river being about eighteen foot perpendicular from high water mark, the bottom is a clay mixed with iron stone, and is the only place an enemy can land at from the southward. It is but four miles from Savannah by land, though sixteen by water ; and the ridge of pine groves reaching all the way from the one to the other, it is passable for horses and carriages by going a little round about to follow the course of the open groves. Mr. Lacy has there set up potash works, and made some for trial, but finding that he could make more advantage of the same labor by sawing timber for the sugar islands, and splitting staves for the Madera, he does not now go on with the potash, till he can have more strength of hands. Here we

met a boat from Savannah with workmen from the southward; they were most of them Germans and Swiss, raised at Purysburgh; the boat being full of men and heavy loaded, we outwent her. From this fort we saw the island of Skidoway, being four miles distance down a wide channel; we stopped at the northwardmost point of that island, where there is a village, a guard-house, and battery of cannon: the freeholders of the island perform guard duty at the battery. The land of this island is very rich; the inhabitants have cleared about thirty acres, but propose doing much more this year, since there will be settlements to the southward of them, for they have been much hindered by continual alarms. This island is about twelve miles long, and four wide. Leaving Skidoway on the left, and the mouths of Vernon and Ogeechee rivers on the right, we passed forward, and still kept through channels, as before, sometimes crossing wide sounds (for so the boatmen here call the gulfs of the sea which run into the land, and the entrances of the rivers.) There are three or four sounds to be passed, which in blowing weather are dangerous to those open boats. I believe where we passed, St. Catharine's is above two leagues wide. The tides of flood carried us up along side the islands, and the tides of ebb down to the sea. Mr. Oglethorpe being in haste, the men rowed night and day, and had no other rest than what they got when a snatch of wind favored us. They were all very willing, though we met with very boisterous weather. The master, Capt. Ferguson, is perfectly acquainted with all the water passages, and in the darkest night never missed the way through the woods and marshes, though there are so many channels as to make a perfect labyrinth. The men vied with each other, who should be forwardest to please Mr. Oglethorpe. Indeed, he lightened their fatigue, by giving them refreshments, which he rather spared from himself than let them want. The Indians seeing the men hard labored, desired to take the oars, and rowed as well as any I ever saw, only differing from the others, by taking a short and long stroke alternately, which they called the Yamassee stroke. I found this was no new thing to the Indians, they being accustomed to row their own canoes, boats made out of a single tree hollowed, which they manage with great dexterity.

"When we came near the mouths of the Alatomaha, we met a boat with Mr. Mackay and Mr. Cuthbert (who is lieutenant of the Darien) coming from the Darien to Savannah. They were very agreeably surprised to find Mr. Oglethorpe on board us. They returned to Darien taking Captain Dunbar with them, whilst we stood the shortest way to St. Simons. Mr. Cuthbert told us, that one of the Highlanders met with an orange tree full of fruit on Duboy's island; he was charmed with the color, but could not get them by reason of the height of the tree, which was so full of thorns, that there was no climbing it, so he cut it down and gathered some dozens.

"On the 18th in the morning we arrived at the island of St. Simons. We were ordered to look to our arms, new prime our swivel-guns, and make every thing ready for fear of accidents: we also landed the Indians, who soon met a party of their friends, who informed them a ship was come into St. Simons, but that they did not know what she was, nor would not speak to the people, having been ordered by their chief war captain, in case they saw any ship come in, not to shew themselves to them, but to watch the men if they landed, and not to hurt them, but to send him notice. That they had sent to him, he being upon Sapola island. We stood down one of the branches of the Alatomaha, close under the reeds, so as not to be seen till we fully discovered what they called a ship to be the Midnight sloop. They were very joyful at our arrival, and we also not a little pleased to hear that the captains of our ships said that they had found water enough to bring in their ships, excepting one place. That there was sixteen or seventeen fathom within the harbor; that the entrance was very easy, except one place on the bar, where they had found it shoaly by reason of a spit of sand, which they had not opportunity in coming in to try round, but would go down in the sloop, and the first calm day did not doubt finding a good channel round the spit. Mr. Horton, Mr. Tanner, and the men were all brisk, and in good health. Mr. Oglethorpe immediately set all hands to work, marked out a booth to hold the stores, digging the ground three foot deep, and throwing up the earth on each side by way of bank, raised a roof upon crutches with ridge-pole and rafters, nailing small poles across, and thatching the whole with palmetto leaves. When

the sloop came first up, the ground was covered with long grass. Mr. Tanner fired it, and it destroyed all vermin, and made the country round clear, so as not to be only pleasant to the eye, but convenient for walking.

“Mr. Oglethorpe afterwards laid out several booths without digging under ground, which were also covered with palmetto leaves, to lodge the families of the colony in when they should come up; each of these booths were between thirty and forty foot long, and upwards of twenty foot wide. Mr. Oglethorpe made a present to Capt. Barnes for having come in the first to this port; and Captains Thomas and Cornish both said, they did not doubt but we should bring in their ships.

“We all made merry that evening, having a plentiful meal of game brought in by the Indians.

“On the 19th, in the morning, Mr. Oglethorpe began to mark out a fort with four bastions, and taught the men how to dig the ditch, and raise and turf the rampart. This day and the following day was spent in finishing the houses, and tracing out the fort. The men not being yet very handy at it, we also in this time unloaded the sloop, and then she went down to discover the channel.

“On the 22d a periagua from Savannah, arrived here with workmen, and some provisions and cannon. These were English, who rowing hard, had passed the boat with Germans, which did not come up whilst we were here.

“We set out for Darien, ten miles from Frederica, up the northern branch of the Alatamaha, leaving Mr. Hermsdorf and the Indians here, and Mr. Horton’s party, which was now augmented to fifty men. Mr. Tanner went along with us. We arrived there in about three hours. The Highlanders were all under arms on the sight of a boat, and made a very manly appearance with their plaids, broad swords, targets and fire arms. Capt. Hugh Mackay commands there. He has mounted a battery of four pieces of cannon, built a guard house, a store house, a place for divine service, and several huts for particular people. One of their men dying, the whole people joined and built a hut for the widow. The Highlanders were not a little rejoiced to hear that a town was going to be settled, and a ship come up so near them; and also, that they had a communication by land to Savannah, Capt. M’Pherson having been here with a party

of Rangers from thence. Capt. Mackay invited Mr. Oglethorpe to lie in his tent, where there was a bed and sheets (a rarity as yet in this part of the world.) He excused himself, choosing to lie at the guard fire, wrapped in his plaid, for he wore the Highland habit. Capt. Mackay and the other gentlemen did the same, though the night was very cold.

"The Scotch have met with a great deal of game in the woods, particularly wild turkeys, of which they have killed many. There was a party of Toma Chi Chi Indians there, who agreed mighty well with the Highlanders, and fetched them in venison. They have a minister, Mr. M'Leod, a very good man, who is very careful of instructing the people in religious matters, and will intermeddle with no other affairs.

"This town stands upon a hill on the northern branch of the river Alatomaha, on the main continent of America. The country behind it is high and healthy, and very fit for cattle, though not so good for corn. The land near the river is fruitful, and a river falls into the Alatomaha about half a mile above the town, on both sides of which is excellent good land. The timber upon the high land behind the town is some of the best in Georgia.

"We left Mr. Tanner there, and then set out for the ships, going down to Duboy's island, and from thence coming back the same way that we went. I take the whole distance by the channels, from Tybee to Frederica, to be about one hundred and thirty miles, though it is but sixty miles south upon the globe."

On the 25th Capt. Yokely in the James, who had not sailed all this while, seeing that Mr. Oglethorpe was come back, sailed in the night, without sending any word, or waiting for further orders; so that we knew nothing of it till we saw him the next morning, too far over the bar to send any message to him.

Col. Bull acquainted Mr. Oglethorpe, that pursuant to his desire from England, he had agreed for some hundreds of cattle to be delivered on the Savannah river for the Trustees; and that the price of cattle was much risen since. Indeed the prices of cattle and provisions rose every day after our arrival, insomuch that rice, which Mr. Oglethorpe had bought, when he came over with the first colony for thirty-five shillings currency per hundred, was now sold for three

pounds currency in Carolina ; and a cow with its calf, which then would have been sold for ten pounds currency, fetched now from fifteen to twenty pounds. Col. Bull also acquainted him of his having bespoke boards, timbers, and boats, according to the orders of the Trustees ; that part of them was ready, and the rest would soon be so. This timber was designed for building barracks, but for want of boats to bring it down, the year was far advanced before we could get it to Frederica.

On the 26th the captains Cornish and Thomas returned in their yawl. Before they came on board the ship, I saw disappointment in their countenances. They brought up a draught of the bar, and declared they had not time to discover it sufficiently to carry in their ships ; but that they had found water enough for the James, and the Peter and James, to go in. They farther told us that there were great fires on the main over against Frederica, which were supposed to be made by the Spanish Indians ; which was only a groundless apprehension, for these fires were made by the Creek English Indians.

Mr. Oglethorpe finding it impossible to prevail with the ships to go to Jekyl sound, called the freeholders together, acquainted them with the new difficulties of one hundred and thirty miles passage in open boats, which might take up fourteen days, and could not be performed in less than six ; that they must lie the nights in woods, with no other shelter than what they could get up upon their arrival, and be exposed to the cold frosty nights, which were not then over, and perhaps hard rains, that there might go by sea on board the Peter and James, as many as that ship could contain ; but that it would not hold near their number : that (considering the difficulties of the southern settlement, almost insuperable to women and children, of which they had great numbers) if they were desirous thereof, he would permit them to settle at Savannah, and the neighboring lands.

He gave them time to consult their wives and families, and appointed them to meet him again in two hours. When they returned they acquainted him, that as they came to make a town and live together, they had all been resolved before they came from England, and in their passage had confirmed their resolutions, and would not forsake one another ; but desired leave to go all together, and settle the town of Frederica, as

was first promised: that brothers, sons, and servants were gone before them, and it would look very base, and be very inconvenient to forsake them, or send for them back: that they all desired to go through the inland passage together, and were well contented to lie without cover not only for six days but for a much longer time, since it was no more than what they expected before they left England.

The Symond and London Merchant not proceeding to the southward, occasioned a new expense and trouble; for besides the demurrage during the delay, whilst the Captains gave hopes of going, these two large ships were now to be unloaded into the Peter and James, which could not carry above one hundred tons; therefore sloops and other vessels were to be freighted to carry the remainder to Savannah, the only place where there was house-room enough to keep the goods dry, until they could be sent to the southward, as occasion should serve.

We wanted a great many periaguas for to carry the families to the southward through the channel between the islands. They daily arrived, some from Savannah, some from Port Royal, and some which returned from having carried down the Highlanders to the Darien, and the workmen to the southward; so that we had soon enough, and by the 1st of March had put the remainder of the colony on board them.

These periaguas are long flat-bottomed boats, carrying from twenty to thirty-five tons. They have a kind of a fore-castle and a cabin; but the rest open, and no deck. They have two masts which they can strike, and sails like schooners. They row generally with two oars only; but upon this occasion Mr. Oglethorpe ordered spare oars for each boat, by the addition of which, and the men of the colony rowing, they performed their voyage in five days, which a single periagua is often fourteen days in doing. Mr. Oglethorpe accompanying them with the scout boat, taking the hindermost in tow, and making them keep together; an expedient for which was the putting all the strong beer on board one boat, which made the rest labor to keep up with that; for if they were not at the rendezvous at night, they lost their beer.

On the 2d of March the periaguas and boats, making a little fleet, with the families on board, all sailed with the

afternoon flood, Mr. Oglethorpe in the scout boat accompanying them. I was left on board in order to load the Peter and James, Captain Dymond, with things the most immediately necessary for Frederica, and to unload and discharge the Symond and London Merchant.

On the 3d I hired a schooner belonging to Mr. Foster, one of the freeholders of Savannah, to carry up part of the cargoes; and I set on shore at Tybee the bricks, and such other part of the cargoes as could not get damage by wet, to lie there till occasion should offer to carry them down, and thereby saved the charges of carrying them to Savannah and down again. I got the ship's boats to help to unload, craft being very scarce, by reason of so many boats sent down to the southward with the colony.

On the 11th I discharged the ships Symond and London Merchant, having this day made an end of unloading them. The Peter and James being loaded, we now waited for a wind to sail to Frederica.

On the 17th we set sail with the morning tide, in company with the Symond and London Merchant. As soon as we were over the bar we parted, they for Charlestown, and we for Frederica. In the evening the wind shifted, and we came to an anchor, the sea being very smooth, and but little wind.

On the 18th, the wind came about, and we stood to the southward two days; at which time we stood in for the land, and made a woody island. The land seemed high about the middle. We stood in within two miles: it looked pleasant, the beach being white sand, the woods lofty, and the land hilly. We daily saw several smokes and fires all along the shore, which were made by the friendly Indians, by Mr. Oglethorpe's order. At noon we had an observation, and found we were in 31 deg. 20 min., being twenty miles to the southward of Frederica, for the entrance of Jekyl sound, is in 31 deg. 0 min. We turned to the northward, and on the 22d in the evening, we made the opening between Jekyl island and St. Simons. We came to an anchor that evening, and the next morning, being the 23d, we stood into the opening, and found a good channel between the breakers all the way to Jekyl sound, at the entrance of which, Captain Yokely's boat came off to us. We ran directly up to Frederica, and anchored close to the shore in three fathom water, where lay the James, Captain Yokely.

I went on shore, where I found Mr. Oglethorpe was gone to the Spanish frontiers, and I was surprised to find that there was a battery of cannon mounted, which commanded the river, and the fort almost built, the ditches being dug round, though not to their width, and the rampart raised with green sod. Within the fort a very large and convenient storehouse, sixty foot in front, and to be three stories high, was begun, with a cellar of the same size underneath and one story already raised above ground. The town building, the streets were all laid out, the main street went from the front into the country, was twenty-five wide. Each freeholder had sixty foot in front, by a foot in depth, upon the high street, for their house and den; but those which fronted the river had but thirty in front by sixty foot in depth. Each family had a bow palmetto leaves, finished upon the back street in their lands; the side towards the front street was set out for houses. These palmetto bowers were very convenient shelters, being tight in the hardest rains; they were twenty foot long, and fourteen foot wide, and in regular looked very pretty, the palmetto leaves lying smooth handsome, and of a good color. The whole appeared something like a camp; for the bowers looked like tents, only being larger, and covered with palmetto leaves instead of canvass. There were three large tents, two belonging to Mr. Oglethorpe, and one to Mr. Horton, pitched upon the parade near the river.

Mr. Oglethorpe had divided the colony into parties, one cut forks, poles, and laths for building the bowers, another set them up, a third fetched palmetto leaves, a fourth thatched, and a Jew workman, bred in the Brazil, and had come from Savannah, taught them to do this nimbly, and in a neat manner. Mr. Oglethorpe had appointed some men who knew the country to instruct the colony in hoeing and planting; and as soon as the bowers were finished, a party was set to that work, and the rest were hired by him to work at the fort, by reason that a great part of the workmen were not yet come up. It was so late in the year, he hoped little from any planting, therefore what he ordered to be done, was rather to teach the colony against another season, than from any advantage likely to arise from it, and he employed the men of the colony to work at the fort that

they might get something to help to subsist themselves the next year. There was potatoes and Indian corn in the ground, and they were planting more; there was some flax and hempseed, which came to little, being too late set. And it is an observation that all Europe grains should be sowed rather before winter, that they may shoot and cover the ground, for if they are sowed in spring, the weather coming hot upon them, the blades shoot at once into height, and not shading the roots the heat of the sun dries them up. But when the winter has checked the growth of the blade, the plant spreads, and covering the ground thick, shades it from the parching sun, and thereby keeps a moisture underneath, which prevents the roots from being dried up. There was barley, turnips, lucerne grass, pumpkins, water-melons and several other seeds sown or sowing daily; all was for the whole colony, the labor was in common, though they were assisted by several workmen hired from Savannah. I was the more surprised to see a team and six horses ploughing, not having heard any thing of it before; but it was thus: Messieurs Walter Augustine and Tolme, escorted by Mr. Hugh Mackay, had, pursuant to their orders, surveyed from Savannah to Darien, and had made a plan of it, and Mr. Hugh Mackay had brought these horses then with him, which were embarked in periaguas from Darien to Frederica. They reported that the Indians had accompanied, assisted, and hunted for them in their survey; and that they had met some camps of friendly Indians, besides those which Toma Chi Chi Mico sent with them; that they had found the country passable for horses, but to keep the horse road they were obliged to go round about, and head several valleys which were too rich and wet to be passable, therefore that road was ninety miles round; but that the road might be carried so as to make it but seventy; that there were two rivers to be swam over; and some boggy places. The news they brought had been no small joy to the people of Frederica, since they had a communication from the Darien by land, open to Savannah, and consequently to all the English colonies of North America.

Frederica is situated in the island of St. Simons, in the middle of an Indian field, where our people found thirty or forty acres of land cleared by them. The ground is about nine or ten foot above high water mark, and level for about

a mile into the island ; the bank is steep to the river, which is here narrow but deep and makes an elbow, so that the fort commands two reaches. The woods on the other side this branch of the Alatamaha are about three miles distance. All that three miles is a plain marsh, which by small banks might easily be made meadow : when I was upon it, it was so hard that a horse might gallop, but most part of it is flooded at very high tides. The open ground on which the town stands, is bounded by a little wood to the east, on the other side of which is a large Savannah of above two hundred acres, where there is fine food for cattle. To the South, is a little wood of red bay trees, live oaks, and other useful timber, which is reserved for the public service. In the fort also are some fine large oaks preserved for shade. To the north are woods, where the people have leave to cut for fire and building, for all that side is intended to be cleared. To the west is the river, and the marshes beyond it as I said before. The soil is a rich sand mixed with garden mould, the marshes are clay. In all places where they have tried, they find fresh water within nine foot of the surface. The grass in the Indian old field was good to cut into turf which was useful in sodding the fort.

The woods on the island are chiefly live-oak, water-oak, laurel, bay, cedar, gum and sassafras, and some pines. There are also abundance of vines growing wild in the woods ; one called the fox grape, from a kind of muscadine taste, is as large and round as the duke cherry, and fleshy like it, but the stones are like the grape. This kind of grape does rarely grow in clusters, but singly like cherries. The other grape is black in clusters, small, thick skinned, big stoned, but pleasant enough ; it seems to be the Bourdeaux grape, wild and unimproved ; they are ripe about September, but a quantity sufficient to make a true experiment of wine (which can hardly be done under sixty gallons) is hard to be got, because the bears, raccoons and squirrels eat them before they are ripe, and as they run up very high trees, it is difficult, or almost impossible to get to the tops of them where the best grow. These grapes are common to the woods in most parts of America. But there is on St. Simons, a wild grape much nearer the Europe vine, the fruit being exactly the same as the common white grape, though the leaf is something different. The birds and wild animals like it so

well that they suffer it seldom to ripen. All the vine kinds seem natural to the country. The China root produces a kind of bind or briar; and the melon, the water-melon, cucumber, kidney bean, pumpkin and gourd, all thrive wonderfully.

The island abounds with deer and rabbits; there are no buffaloes in it, though there are large herds upon the main. There are also a good many raccoons, a creature something like a badger, but somewhat less, with a bushy tail like a squirrel, tabbied with rings of brown and black. They are very destructive to the poultry.

I heard that there were wolves and bears, but saw none. There are great numbers of squirrels of different sizes, the little kind the same as in England, a lesser than that, not much bigger than a mouse, and a large grey sort, very near as big as a rabbit, which those who are accustomed to the country say, eats as well. There are wild cats which they call tigers; I saw one of them which the Indians killed, the skin was brown, and all of one color, about the size of a middling spaniel, little ears, great whiskers, short legs, and strong claws.

Of the wild fowl kind, there are wild turkeys, though but few of them upon the island, but plenty upon the main. This bird is larger than the tame turkey, and the cock is the beautifullest of the feathered kind; his head has the red and blue of the turkey, only much more lively and beautiful, his neck is like the cock pheasant's, his feathers also are of the same color with those of that bird, glittering in the sun as if they were gilded; his tail is as large, though it hath not so fine eyes in it as the peacock's hath. At first, before they were disturbed by our people, they would strut in the woods as a peacock does. I have heard some say, that upon weighing, they have found them to exceed thirty pounds; I never weighed any, but have had them very fat and large; they are delicious meat and are compared to a tame turkey, as a pheasant is to a fowl. I saw no partridges upon the island, though they are plenty upon the main. Turtle-doves the woods swarm with, which are excellent food; there are also great numbers of small birds, of which a black bird with a red head, the red bird, or Virginia nightingale, the mocking bird, which sings sweetly, and the rice bird, much resembling the French ortolan, were the chief; the rest are too numerous to describe.

Of water fowl, in winter there are great abundance ; besides the common English wild goose, duck, mallard, and teal, there is a kind of wild goose like the brand geese, and ducks of many kinds hardly known in Europe. There is a hooping crane, a fowl with grey feathers, five or six foot high, numbers of the heron kind of different species and colors, some small ones of the most beautiful white, which are called poor Jobs, from their being generally very lean. Of birds of prey, there are the land and the sea eagle, with different kinds of hawks : there are also numbers of pelicans and cormorants.

Of reptiles, the crocodile, which seems to be the chief, abounds in all the rivers of Georgia ; they call them alligators. I have seen some of these I believe twelve foot long. A number of vulgar errors are reported of them ; one is, that their scales are musket proof ; whereas I have frequently seen them killed with small shot ; nay, I have heard from people of good credit, that when they have found one at a distance from the water they have killed him with sticks, not thinking him worth a shot. And Mr. Horton more than once has struck one through with a hanger. The watermen often knock them on the head with their oars as they sleep upon the banks, for they are very sluggish and timorous, though they can make one or two springs in the water with nimbleness enough, and snap with strength whatever comes within their jaws. They are terrible to look at, stretching open an horrible large mouth, big enough to swallow a man, with rows of dreadful large sharp teeth, and feet like dragons armed with great claws, and a long tail which they throw about with great strength, and which seems their best weapon, for their claws are feebly set on, and the stiffness of their necks hinders them from turning nimbly to bite. When Mr. Oglethorpe was first at Savannah, to take off the terror which the people had for the crocodiles, having wounded and caught one about twelve foot long, he had him brought up to the town, and set the boys to bait him with sticks, the creature gaping and blowing hard, but had no heart to move, only turned about his tail, and snapt at the sticks, till such time as the children pelted and beat him to death. At our first coming they would stare at the boats, and stand till they came up close to them, so that Mr. Horton killed five in one day ; but being frequently shot at they grew more shy.

They destroy a great deal of fish, and will seize a hog or a dog if they see them in the water; but their general way of preying is lying still, with their mouths open and their noses just above water, and so they watch till the stream brings down prey to them; they swallow any thing that comes into their mouths, and upon opening them knots of light wood have been found in their guts. They rarely appear in winter, being then in holes. They lay eggs which are less than those of a goose: they scrape together a number of leaves, and other trash, of which nature has taught them to choose such as will foment and heat; of these they make a dunghill or hot-bed, in the midst of which they leave their eggs, covering them with a sufficient thickness. The heat of the dunghill, helped by the warmth of the climate, hatches them, and the young crocodiles creep out like small lizards.

Next to the crocodile is the rattle-snake, a creature really dangerous, though far from being terrible to look at. The bite is generally thought mortal, and certainly is so, if remedies are not in time applied. The Indians pretend to have performed wonderful cures, and boast an infallible secret, but it is generally believed that the hot season of the year, and the rage of the rattle-snake increase the force of the poison, and that the bite is more or less dangerous according to the part; and those who are bit with the least dangerous circumstances are cured by the outward applications of the Indians. Mr. Reeves, who was Surgeon to the Independent Company at Port Royal has, by a regular course of medicine, cured most of those who were carried to him and bit by rattle-snakes. I can say less of this, because (thank God) there has not been one person bit by a rattle-snake in the colony of Georgia. I have seen several of these snakes which were killed at Frederica, the largest above two yards long, the belly white, and the back of a brown color; they seem to be of the viper kind, and are of a strong smell, somewhat like musk. The rattles are rings at the end of their tails of a horny substance: these shaking together make a noise, which with their strong musky smell give cautious people notice where they are. They are not so nimble as some snakes are, therefore do not remove out of the way, which is generally the occasion of bites when they happen; for they naturally in their own defence snap at what treads near them. To prevent this, those who walk the woods much, wear what

they call Indian boots, which are made of coarse woolen cloths, much too large for the legs, tied upon their thighs and hang loose to their shoes.

Besides the rattle-snake, there are some others whose bite is dangerous ; there are also many others, as the black, the red, and the chicken snake, whose bites are not venomous.

On the 24th, I resolved to keep the cargoes on board, and landed nothing but as it was actually wanted. There was a booth for a storehouse on shore, with a cellar to it ; but the cargo of the Midnight sloop had filled that. There were also some other booths where the colony lodged till they had made their own bowers, but there being already a great many goods and provisions come up, there was not room enough in all for them, and we were much distressed for want of room, many things being damaged by not having cover to put them under. I therefore thought it best to keep the cargoes on board both ships, and take things out as we had occasion.

On the 25th, in the evening, Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the Spanish frontiers, and some difficulties having arose about settling the bounds of the dominions belonging to the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to make the following transactions intelligible it will be necessary to describe the situation of the Province of Georgia, and also to give an account of his expedition to the frontiers, from whence he now returned.

The Mississippi river parts these bounds, the mouths and heads of which are possessed by the French, who have garrisons and considerable forces up that river as far as the Chickasaws country. To the east of that country there are four great nations of Indians.

1. The Choctaws, some of which lie on the other side of the river, and some on this. These Mr. Oglethorpe in his first voyage to Georgia gained to admit of English traders. They are about five thousand warriors on the east side of the river.

2. The Cherokees, a nation who inhabit the mountains upon the southern heads of the Savannah river, amounting to about three thousand warriors.

3. The Chickasaws, who lie upon the Mississippi river, between the Cherokees and the Choctaws, who have long been subjects to the crown of England, and who hinder the

French communication up that river with their northern colonies of Canada ; and

4. The Creeks, who are bounded by the Chickasaws and Cherokees upon the north, the Choctaws upon the west, the Florida Indians upon the South, and who to the eastward reach as far as the ocean. These are divided into several towns and nations, one of which is commanded by Toma Chi Chi, who was in England. To these belonged all the islands upon the sea, and the main land, from the mouth of the Savannah, to the Choctaws and the Florida Indians. The Creeks did by treaty grant the lands which the English now possess in Georgia near Savannah, and for it received presents.

The sovereignty was in the crown of Great Britain, ever since the discovery of them by Sir Walter Raleigh. All Carolina bounded by the river St. John, was the Carolina granted to the proprietors in the English possession at the Treaty of 1670. They also conceded several islands, reserving to themselves several portions of land on the main, as also the islands of St. Catharine, Sapola, and Assaba. They granted those of Tybee, Warsaw, Skidoway, Wilmington, St. Simons, and all those to the southward of it as far as St. John's river to the colony. The Creek Indians were allies or rather subjects to the crown of Great Britain, and did, with the assistance of the English in the year 1703, beat the Spaniards as far as St. Augustine, and besieged that place. But though the siege was raised, the Creek Indians still kept possession of all the lands on the north of St. John's river, but had made a treaty with General Nicholson (who commanded by commission from King George the First in those countries) that no private Englishman should possess the property of any land to the south or west of the river Savannah, without leave first had from the Indians.

The first thing Mr. Oglethorpe did in his first voyage, was to obtain the grant from the Indians ; and upon a meeting of all the upper and lower Creeks, upon Toma Chi Chi's return from England, they confirmed the grant of all the islands (those reserved as above excepted) also of all the lands upon the continent as far as the tide flowed, and two hours walk above it. In pursuance of this agreement Toma Chi Chi came down with a party of Indians to show

Mr. Oglethorpe how far their possessions reached. The day he arrived he presented ten bucks to the whole colony, which were divided after the Indian manner to all equal. Every day more Indians came in from different quarters, where they had been hunting. At last Mr. Jonathan Brian brought down a new scout boat with ten oars. Mr. Oglethorpe having heard no news of Major Richard, and the boat sent to Augustine; and being informed by his Indians that great number of the Florida Indians were sent for up to their town; and also having advice from Charlestown that they heard from Augustine that the Spaniards were preparing to dislodge us, he resolved to go down and see the frontiers, and inquire what was become of his boat and men, and at the same time to restrain the Indians from hurting the Spaniards: who seemed very eager so to do, under the pretence of hunting the buffalo. Knowing there was a passage through which boats might come round the island, and perhaps might destroy the colony in one night, he made Capt. Yokely anchor below the town, who was very alert, and kept a good look-out, and having some cannon, and supported by a battery from the land, was above a match for open boats. He designed also to build a fort upon the boat passage, but the Indian company not being yet come, he had no men to garrison it. The Highlanders very cheerfully offered themselves for that service. He ordered a large peragua to bring them down from the Darien.

"On the 18th of April he set out with the two scout boats with Toma Chi Chi and a body of Indians, who though but few, being not forty, were all chosen warriors and good hunters. Mr. Oglethorpe did not care for having too many, lest their strength should encourage them to hostilities with the Spaniards, which it was his business to avoid. Rowing across Jekyl sound he went up another branch of the Alata-maha, to see what passages might lie that way for boats, and encamped in a grove of pine trees upon the main, where were many trees fit for masts to the largest ships. They made up three fires, one for the Indians, one for the boatmen, and one for the gentlemen. Mr. Oglethorpe lay, as he usually does, in the woods under a tree, wrapt up in a cloak, near a good fire. Mr. Horton, Mr. Tanner, and the rest of the gentlemen lay round the fire in the same manner.

"The next day, soon after day break, they discovered the

periagua, which made a fine appearance, being full of men: Captain Hugh Mackay, who commanded them, had been indefatigable in making this dispatch; there was on board thirty Highlanders and ten other men, a party of the independent company, lately reduced, who had come over land to Darien under the command of Ensign Hugh Mackay, as before mentioned: they had with them tools for entrenching, and provisions. That afternoon they saw an island, which the Indians formerly called Wissoo, in English, Sassafra. This is over against Jekyl island on the south; the north-west end of it rises fifty foot or upwards above the water, like a terras, a mile in length, covered with tall pine trees. The western extremity of this hill commands the passage for boats from the southward as the northern end of the island does the entry for ships. Here they met with some bark-huts, which our friendly Indians had some time since built for their lodging when they hunted there. They saw a great many deer and a wide savannah lying at the foot of the hill, extending near two or three miles: so that from the western point they could discover any boat that came from the southward for several miles.

“Mr. Oglethorpe, upon the extreme western point of the hill, the foot of which is washed on the one side by the bay and by the channel that goes to the southward on the other, marked out a fort to be called St. Andrew's, and gave Captain Hugh Mackay orders to build it; leaving with him the periagua, and all that came in it, and also some Indians to hunt and shoot.

“Mr. Oglethorpe proceeded on the next morning with the two scout boats, and Toma Chi Chi and his Indians; who new named this island Cumberland in memory of his Royal Highness the Duke, who had been very gracious to them, particularly to Tooanahowi, nephew to Toma Chi Chi, to whom his Royal Highness had given a gold repeating watch, which Tooanahowi holding in his hand, said, the Duke gave us this watch, that we might know how the time went, and we will remember him at all times, and therefore will give this island his name: or words to that purpose. They encamped that night on the south end of Cumberland, and the next morning discovered another island beyond it, between which and the main, they rowed through very narrow and shoaly passages amongst the marshes. To this island Mr.

Oglethorpe gave the name of Amelia, it being a beautiful island, and the sea shore covered with myrtle, peach-trees, orange trees and vines in the wild woods. They rowed across a fresh water river, a branch of the Alatomaha, and that night Toma Chi Chi chose to encamp upon a ground where there were but a few straggling pine trees, and the land being clear for half a mile round, and thick of shrubs and palmettoes: his reason was that if any Florida Indians were out there, they would be discovered, if they approached in the night, by the noise of the palmetto leaves; and, (says he) *you being Englishmen, who are used to fight in open ground, I choose this as being most to your advantage.*

"Next morning he conducted them through several channels till they came to two rocks covered with cedar and bay trees, and climbing to the tops of those rocks he shewed them a wide river, which was St. John's, and a house or hut on the other side, saying, *that is the Spanish guard. All on this side that river we hunt; it is our ground. On the other side they hunt, but as they have lately hurt some of our people, we will now drive them away. We will stay behind these rocks, where they cannot see us, till night, and then we will fall upon them.*"

"Mr. Oglethorpe, with much difficulty, prevailed with the Indians not to attack the Spaniards; for some of them are related to those that had been killed the winter before, by the detachment from Augustine, and one of them, Poyeechy by name, had been wounded by the Spaniards. At last the Indians were prevailed upon to return to the Palmetto ground, where he promised to meet them. And not caring to trust them single, lest they should turn back and do mischief to the Spaniards, he ordered Mr. Horton, with one of the ten-oared scout-boats to attend upon them; and with the other boat he himself went into St. John's river, intending to inquire of the Spanish guards what was become of the boat and men he had sent to Augustine.

"The hut which they saw from the rocks, was the upper Spanish look-out, but seeing no people, they concluded it deserted, therefore stood down to the lower look-out.

"The boatmen fancied they saw a battery of cannon, for there appeared some black things which they thought looked like guns at a great distance, but Mr. Oglethorpe desired to see them nearer.

"As they stood in, they proved to be cows lying down among the sand hills. There were no people at the look-out, so they went down to the sea, and rounding the point St. George, passing between that and Talbot island, came to the rendezvous at the Palmetto ground; where they met Mr. Horton in the scout boat, and some boats of Indians, but Toma Chi Chi with two boats was gone on.

"About four hours in the night their sentry challenged a boat; and Umpeachy, one of those who had been in England, answered, and at the same time leaped on shore with four others, and ran up to the fires where Mr. Oglethorpe then was.

"They seemed in such a rage as is hardly to be described. Their eyes glowed as it were, with fire; some of them foamed at the mouth, and moved with such bounds, that they seemed rather possessed.

"Mr. Oglethorpe asked Umpeachy what the matter was: he said Toma Chi Chi has seen enemies, and has sent us to tell it, and to help you. Being asked why the Mico did not come back himself, he said, he is an old warrior, and will not come away from his enemies, who hunt upon our lands, till he has seen them so near as to count them. He saw their fire and therefore sent to take care of you, who are his friends. He will make a warrior of Tooanahowi, and before daylight will be revenged for his men, whom they killed whilst he was gone to England. But we shall have no honor, for we shall not be there. The rest of the Indians seemed to catch the raging fits, at not being present. Mr. Oglethorpe asked if he thought there were many; he said, yes, he thought the enemies were a great many, for they had a great fire upon a high ground, and the Indians never make large fires, but when they are so strong as to despise all resistance.

"Mr. Oglethorpe immediately ordered all his people on board, and they rowed very briskly to where Toma Chi Chi was, being about four miles distance.

"They found him and his Indians with hardly any fire, only a few sparks behind a bush, to prevent discovery. They told him they had been to see the fire, and had discovered seven or eight white men; but the Indians they believed had encamped further in the woods, for they had not seen them: but Toma Chi Chi was going out again to look for the Indians, whom as soon as he discovered, he intended to give

the signal to attack both parties at once : one half of his men creeping near, and taking each their aim at those whom they saw most awake, and as soon as they had fired to run in with their hatchets, and at the same time those who had not fired should run in with their loaded arms ; that if they knew once where the Indians were, they could be sure of killing all the white men, since they being round the fire, were easily seen, and the same fire hindered them from seeing others.

“Mr. Oglethorpe strove to dissuade them from that attempt ; but with great difficulty could obtain of them to delay a little time, they thinking it argued cowardice. At last they got up, and resolved to go in spite of all his endeavors ; on which he told them, You certainly go to kill them in the night, because you are afraid of seeing them by day : now I do not fear them. Stay till day, and I will go with you, and see who they are.

“Toma Chi Chi sighed and sat down, and said, ‘We don’t fear them by day ; but if we don’t kill them by night, they will kill you to-morrow.’ So they stayed.

“By day-break Mr. Oglethorpe and the Mico went down with their men, and came up to the fire, which they thought had been made by enemies, which was less than a mile from where the Mico had passed the night. They saw a boat there, with a white flag flying, and the men proved to be Major Richard, returned from Augustine.

“The Indians then seemed ashamed of their rage, which inspired them to kill men before they knew who they were.

“The same day they returned towards St. Andrews, and not having water enough, through the narrows of Amelia, the scout boats were obliged to halt there ; but the Indians advanced to the south end of Cumberland, where they hunted, and carried venison to St. Andrews.

“Mr. Oglethorpe arriving there was surprized to find the fort in a forwardness ; the ditch being dug, and the parapet raised with wood and earth on the land side, and the small wood was cleared fifty yards round the fort. This seemed to be the more extraordinary, because Mr. Mackay had no engineer, nor any other assistance in that way, but the directions left by Mr. Oglethorpe : besides it was very difficult to raise works here, the ground being a loose sand ; therefore they used the same method to support it as Cæsar mentions in the wars of Gaul, laying trees and earth alternately, the

trees prevented the sand from falling, and the sand the wood from fire. — He returned thanks to the Highlanders, and offered to take any of them back, but they said, that whilst there was danger, they desired leave to stay. But he ordered two along with him, they having families at Darien, to whom he thought it would be agreeable for them to return. From thence he returned to Frederica with the white men and the scout boats.

Next day being the 26th, the Indians arrived, and camped by themselves near the town, and made a war dance, to which Mr. Oglethorpe went, and all his people. They made a ring, in the middle of which four sat down, having little drums made of kettles, covered with deer skins, upon which they beat and sung: round them the others danced, being naked to their waists, and round their middles many trinkets tied with skins, and some with the tails of beasts hanging down behind them. They painted their faces and bodies, and their hair was stuck with feathers: in one hand they had a rattle, in the other hand the feathers of an eagle, made up like the caduceus of Mercury: they shook these wings and the rattle, and danced round the ring with high bounds and antic postures, looking much like the figures of the satyrs.

They shewed great activity, and kept just time in their motions, and at certain times answered by way of chorus, to those that sat in the middle of the ring. They stopt, and then stood out one of the chief warriors, who sung what wars he had been in, and described (by actions as well as by words) which way he had vanquished the enemies of his country. When he had done, all the rest gave a shout of approbation, as knowing what he said to be true. The next day Mr. Oglethorpe gave presents to Toma Chi Chi and his Indians, and dismissed them with thanks for their fidelity to the king.

The 28th we received advice that Captain Gascoigne, with the man-of-war sloop, the *Hawk*, was got up to the town of Savannah, she having suffered much in her passage, being near lost by stress of weather. Captain Gascoigne desiring a pilot that knew Frederica bar, there being none but Captain Dymond, or Captain Yokely, that could undertake it, Mr. Oglethorpe prevailed with Captain Dymond to leave his ship and go to Savannah, to bring the *Hawk* into Frederica.

Major Richard gave an account that he was cast away before he could get to Augustine, that part of their baggage was lost, but the boat and men were saved ; that having scrambled through the breakers, and walked some leagues through the sands they were met by Don Pedro Lamberto, a captain of horse, and by him conducted to the Governor, who received him with great civility ; and that the reason of his long stay was, to get the boat repaired. He brought letters from Don Francisco del Moral Sanchez, Captain General of Florida, and Governor of St. Augustine, to Mr. Oglethorpe, who called together the freeholders, and communicated to them the contents of the letters, to prevent the ill impressions that idle reports might occasion. There were first great compliments, thanking him for the letters he had received by Don Carlos Dempsey and Major Richard : next complaining that the Creek Indians had fallen upon the Spaniards, and defeated some of them : that he daily expected farther hostilities from them, and desired him to restrain them.

Major Richard, by word of mouth, told him that the Governor expected an answer back in three weeks ; that he had treated him with the greatest civility, and desired him to bring it, and that the Governor had sent advice to the Havannah of our arrival.

By private advices Mr. Oglethorpe was informed, that notwithstanding these professions the Governor of Augustine had sent to buy arms at Charlestown, and was preparing to arm the Florida Indians, in order to join the Yamasee Indians, and to send them, together with a detachment of the Spanish garrison, to dislodge us ; and that the complaining of hostilities from the Creeks was only to give a reason for such an action, and lay upon us the blame of having begun the war ; that the garrison of Augustine consisted of five companies, sixty men each, and forty horse, and that the inhabitants of the place amounted to above two thousand men, women, and children, and that they expected troops would be sent from the Havannah, as soon as the message would arrive ; but that they thought they had enough already to dislodge us.

These private advices Mr. Oglethorpe did not communicate to the people ; but being doubtful of what the event might be, in case he should be attacked before the arrival of the man-of-war, and the independent company, he concluded

to arm a *periagua*, that was a good boat, to fit her out with twenty oars, and four swivel-guns, and to send her to the river St. John's with a scout boat in company, called the marine boat, and by patrolling in that river to hinder the Indians from passing it, and thereby from giving pretence of hostilities to the Spaniards, against whom they were very inveterate. He also designed that they should erect a fort upon the passages by the island St. George, that the *periagua* under the shelter of those guns might very easily hinder any boats from coming through the island passages, and send the scout boat to give the alarm, which by signals of smoke would reach St. Andrews, he ordering another scout boat to cruise between Amelia and Cumberland.

The keeping the two ships in the river, with the assistance of the land batteries, would prevent any ships from coming up from the sea, but under a great disadvantage. He spoke to Toma Chi Chi Mico, who sent off parties of the Indians into the woods to strive to meet with the other Creek hunters, and desire them not to hurt the Spaniards, till a conference was held before Mr. Oglethorpe, who would see to get justice done to them, but to keep in the neighborhood of Frederica, on the main, to see that the Spanish horse did not pass to Darien, and to be ready in case they attacked us, to make a body. Toma Chi Chi leaving most of his men, returned to Yamacraw in all haste, in order to bring down more Indians. Men were chiefly wanted for this disposition; but Mr. Oglethorpe made use of such men as were hired for workmen, and willing to serve on that occasion.

The people went on with building the storehouse but slowly, hands being taken off for building the fort, and it was further delayed for want of boards and stuff, those which were bought in Carolina not coming up. Mr. Oglethorpe had the works round the fort frased or palisaded with cedar posts, to prevent our enemies turning up the green sod. He also had platforms of two inch planks laid for the cannon upon the bastions, and took in a piece of marsh ground which lay before the fort, with a work called the spur, the cannon in which are upon a level with the water's edge, and make it impossible for any boat or ship to come up or down the river without being torn to pieces.

He had a well dug in the fort, where we found tolerable

good water, and in plenty. The people having no bread, and biscuit being dear and necessary for the boats service, there was an oven built, and Mr. Oglethorpe bought off the time of an indented servant, who was a baker, and he baked bread for all the colony, they giving him their allowance of flour, and he returning to them the same weight in bread, the difference made by the water and salt being his gain. Fresh bread was a great comfort to the people. The Indians also brought us in plenty of venison, which was divided as far as it would go, instead of salt provisions, to the sick first, then to the women and children, and lastly to the strong young men. Whenever venison failed, we killed poultry, hogs or sheep for the sick.

Twenty-eighth of March, Mr. Robert Ellis arrived here in a boat from Savannah. Mr. Oglethorpe received him with great civility, upon account of Mr. Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania, who had sent to the poor people of the town of Savannah, at the beginning of the settlement, one hundred barrels of flour, as a present, which had been of very great service and relief to them. We bought of Mr. Ellis several provisions which the colony had occasion for.

The 30th, Mr. Oglethorpe agreed with Mr. Jonathan Brian to furnish him with eighteen hands to assist him in cutting roads through that part of Georgia, which is from the river Savannah to the river Ogeechee, and for that purpose, to begin, by making a road passable from his own house in Carolina to the river Savannah, and thereby carry all things along with him, that were necessary, for the support of the men. In the evening Mr. Brian and Mr. Barnwell set out for Carolina of their own accords, promising, that if we should be attacked, they would come down with a large number of volunteers from thence. We also received advice from Savannah, that the chief of the Cheehaws, and another town of the Creek Indians, were arrived there, and would come over to our assistance in case any body disturbed us in our settlements.

The 31st, Mr. Horton, who had five hundred acres of land granted by the Trustees, went to take possession of it, being on the other side the branch of the Alatamaha, and about six miles below the town. Mr. Oglethorpe ordered one of the scout boats to carry him: the captain was left ill ashore. He found the land exceeding rich. The scout boat having orders to fire a swivel gun, by way of signal, that we might

know how the lands bore from the town, the young fellow who fired the gun, loaded it again and again, fired it three times by way of rejoicing; and at the third fire the gun being overloaded, burst, and the splinters wounded him very dangerously in the brain. Mr. Horton returned with the boat and wounded man directly, and notwithstanding the surgeons took all possible care of him, he died the next day, being the first man that died at Frederica.

The 2d day of May, Mr. Horton was sent down with a scout boat to escort a periagua loaded with ammunition, cannons, boards for platforms, and other necessities for St. Andrews, together with a message to Ensign Mackay, to come up to consult upon the present posture of affairs, and to bring with him such of the Highlanders whose interest in planting required their return to Darien; and during his absence to leave Mr. Cuthbert to command at St. Andrews.

Boats daily arrived from Savannah, or Port Royal, with fowls, hogs and other live stock, for the use of the colony; and those from Savannah seldom came without some volunteers to offer their service to Mr. Oglethorpe, upon the present apprehension. And all the inhabitants of their town, and this province, shewed the greatest readiness to do every necessary for the general defence. And he was forced to send positive orders to prevent those who had plantations from coming down to the southward, lest thereby they should lose their next harvest; and both they and the people of Port Royal thought it was better to dispute with the Spaniards here, than stay for the event, being thoroughly satisfied that if the Spaniards dislodged this settlement, they must of course be destroyed.

Mr. Oglethorpe received a letter from Augustine by way of Charlestown giving an account that there had been an alarm there, that they hourly expected ships to their assistance from the Havannah; that the general had beat to arms, and the trumpet sounded to boot and saddle; that all the horse, and a detachment of foot were marched out, and that the Pohoia king of the Floridas was expected in a little more than a month, with a great number of Indians; that the Spaniards had not arms for them, but that there were proposals made by some persons who were runaways from Carolina, to buy at Charlestown arms, ammunition and presents both for them and the Creek Indians, the Spaniards intending to

gain the upper Creeks from the English interest. They had also sent to buy provisions at New York, in order to have sufficient to maintain the troops, that they expected from the Havannah.

He received at the same time a letter from Don Carlos Dempsey, by the governor of Augustine's order, acquainting him that the Indians had fallen upon a post of theirs, called Picolata, and killed some of their men, and that he from thence seemed to conclude, that the Indians would not molest them unless they had some private countenance.

Upon these advices, to restrain the Indians, and prevent any pretence of a rupture upon their account with the Spaniards, Mr. Oglethorpe hastened the sending out of the marine boats; and he also sent an express to hasten the independent company from Port Royal, and the man-of-war from Savannah.

On the 10th, in the evening, Ensign Delegal arrived with a detachment of thirty men of the independent company under his command, all active, willing young fellows; they had heard from Charlestown of the general report of the Spaniards' intention to dislodge us; Mr. Delegal had made them row night and day, relieving their oars with the soldiers, in order to come up time enough for service. Mr. Oglethorpe went immediately on board them, and for fear of losing time suffered none to land, but ordered provisions and English strong beer, to be carried on board and distributed amongst the soldiers. As also a present of wine to Ensign Delegal. They went forward with the same tide of ebb, and Mr. Oglethorpe went down with the scout boat, and posted them upon the east point of the island, which projects into the ocean, a pleasant and healthful place, open to the sea breezes. There is a beach of white sand for four or five miles long, so hard that horse races might be run upon it. It commands the entry of Jekyl sound, in such a manner that all ships that come in at this north entry, must pass within shot of the point, the channel lying under it, by reason of a shoal which runs off from Jekyl island. Having pitched upon the ground for a fort, Mr. Oglethorpe ordered a well to be dug, and found good water; after which he returned to Frederica.

On the 13th, in the evening, the marine boat and a peria-gua, with men and provisions for three months, together with

arms, ammunition, and tools, sailed to the southward. On board her was Major Richard, with answers from Mr. Oglethorpe to the Captain General of Florida's letters, acquainting him that being greatly desirous to remove all occasions of uneasiness, upon his Excellency's frequent complaints of the incursions of the Indians into the Spanish dominions, Mr. Oglethorpe had sent down some armed boats, to patrol the rivers which separate the King of Great Britain's dominions from those of Spain, to hinder any lawless persons from sheltering themselves in the British dominions, and from thence molesting his Catholic Majesty's subjects, and to restrain the English Indians from invading them. He returned him thanks for his civilities, and expressed his inclination for maintaining a good harmony between the subjects of both crowns; and that pursuant to his excellency's desire he has sent back Major Richard, together with an English gentleman to wait upon his excellency.

This body of men was commanded by Captain Hermsdorf, and under him by Mr. Horton, the latter of whom had orders to go with Major Richard to Augustine; and Captain Hermsdorf had orders, after having fortified the parts which commanded the pass by water, to make the boats patrol up the river St. John, to prevent our friendly Indians from passing the rivers, and advise all they met to return to Mr. Oglethorpe at Frederica.

The 16th, we received advice from fort St. Andrews, that they had seen some ships out at sea. This day also returned some men whom Mr. Oglethorpe had sent to look out a way by land to the sea point, which they had found, and brought advice from Ensign Delegal, that he had already cast up a small entrenchment, mounted some cannon, and had seen some ships lying off and on, and as they thought; heard several guns fire at sea, but so very distant as not to be quite certain. We began to be apprehensive that the Hawk was intercepted, and the rather because a decked boat, which had been set out a month from Charlestown for this place, was not yet arrived; and this was increased by an account from a sloop which came from the northward, that she had seen a large ship out at sea that seemed to make towards her, but she standing in for shoal water heard no more of her.

Upon this all hands were set to work upon the fortifications, Mr. Oglethorpe recalled several parties of Indians from

the main, and kept them in the woods near the town. We cut down the small woods to the eastward, which hindered the town from seeing the Savannah, having before showed the inconveniency of it, for the people being tired of guards, to make them alert, he one day, in his return from viewing the sea coast, discovered a branch of the river that ended in the Savannah, and rowing up it landed with the men, and under the shelter of that wood, came to the farther end of the town without being discovered, having surprised the sentry that was without the wood, and sent him into the town crying the enemy was upon them. The men who were with Mr. Oglethorpe fired a volley, falling in with a Spanish cry, the people ran to the fort, the very women took arms to help the defence of the fort, and the whole colony was thoroughly alarmed.

One Walker, then sick of a fever, in his bower, which was nearest the wood, took up his musket, (which the people here were ordered to keep loaded by them) and being scarce able to stand, kneeling at his door upon one knee, he presented his piece at the first man he saw; at which Mr. Oglethorpe calling to him, he, in the surprise scarcely knew his voice, but hearing his own name called, he recovered his arms, and was glad to find they were friends; being asked what he intended to have done, he said, that thinking the town lost, he was resolved to die like a man with his arms in his hand, and to kill a Spaniard before he died.

A magazine for the powder was begun under one of the bastions, made of solid thick timber, with several feet of earth over it; a smith's forge also was getting up in the fort, the storehouse being raised and covered we began to bring in provisions, &c.

This house was flat roofed and covered with boards, to be laid over with turpentine, and above that a composition of tar and sand, the boards were already laid, but the tar and other things were not come from Carolina; notwithstanding that we thought it best to get every thing into the fort, particularly provisions, for fear of accidents.

I lay in the storehouse, but the rain came in between the boards, so that a good many of the stores were damaged, though we took all possible care to prevent it.

The 17th we landed some sheep which arrived the night before in a sloop from Carolina; they were about forty,

bought for the use of the colony. Mr. Oglethorpe had ordered a pen to be made for them, to keep them in till they were acquainted with the place, the people appointed to do it and take care of them, thought they might spare the trouble of making a pen, and govern them as they do English sheep without it, but as soon as they were landed, they came with terrible complaints to Mr. Oglethorpe, that they were not sheep, but devils, that they had run directly into the woods, and were as wild as bucks. Mr. Oglethorpe taking some of the Indians and others, went himself, and with much difficulty brought up most of them, but some were lost. And this experience made them mind Mr. Oglethorpe's advice, who knew the nature of the country and the cattle. About this time the acre lots were run out, and each freeholder that desired to have them near the town had one, but those who were desirous of having more than one acre for their gardens were obliged to have it farther off the town, where they had five acres, which was part of the fifty acres promised to them; the remainder was to be in farm at something farther distance.

On the 18th the flies began to plague the horses so as to make them almost unserviceable. Mr. Oglethorpe had a stable made at the end of the town for them. There was a fence some time ago begun, designed to be carried all round the town by joint labor, but the alarms making it necessary to finish the fortifications, and put the place into a posture of defence (and for which there were scarce hands sufficient) the enclosure was obliged to be left unfinished, by which means most of the corn, and other things that had been planted, were destroyed by the cattle. The magazine for powder being finished, as also a lodgment bomb-proof in the hollow of another of the bastions, the smith's forge in a working order, the fort in a posture of defence, and provisions sufficient for the whole colony.

On the 25th Mr. Oglethorpe went down to St. Andrews in a scout boat, with some other boats, to see what farther works were necessary for that place, and also to have the entrance from the sea into Jekyl sound, better viewed and sounded.

On the 26th, advice came from Ensign Delegal, at the sea point, that he had discovered a ship at sea; Mr. Tanner went down in a scout boat to see what she was, but she

was stood out to sea, upon which he returned to the town.

"The 29th, Mr. Oglethorpe returned from St. Andrews; in going down he had very bad weather, great storms of thunder, lightnings, wind, and rain. The scout boat was forced to take shelter amongst oyster banks, over against Jekyl island, where they rode out the night. They saw a fire upon that island, on which, notwithstanding the roughness of the weather, they rowed across the sound (which is three miles wide) with much difficulty, and could not gain the island till nine in the morning; they found a creek which carried them up to the very heart of it, and there landing found a large field of rich ground, formerly cleared by the Indians. They saw the footsteps of a man where the fire had been; Mr. Oglethorpe walked through the island, but could not make out the track: he went on to St. Andrews, and sent Ferguson's scout boat to Capt. Hermsdorf; he sent off another boat to sound; he ordered a ravelin to be added to the fort at St. Andrews, and also a palisade round the bottom of the hill. They saw some sails from St. Andrews, on which Mr. Oglethorpe immediately returned for Frederica, but by stress of weather was forced into Jekyl Island, blowing and raining very hard; however at last they rowed through it and got up to the town." Mr. Tanner was sent down with Capt. Dymond's long boat to go out at Jekyl entry, to see what the sails were. At the same time another boat was sent down to go out at Cumberland entry, and see if any ships attempted to come in there, and to give notice thereof. Also Mr. Delegal was ordered to send over a party to view Jekyl island. Mr. Oglethorpe himself staid at Frederica, to take such measures as should be necessary for the defence of the whole, if these ships should not be friends, and land.

On the 30th, Mr. Tanner returned with an account that he reached Jekyl island in the evening, and saw a two mast vessel at an anchor off the bar, but being near night could make no farther discovery; that this morning he went off with the tide of ebb being a dead calm, so that he could get near enough to discover what she was, without any danger of being intercepted by her; he afterwards took her to be the Hawk sloop, and the nearer he went to her, the better satisfied he was of it; he laid two buoys on the breaker

heads, and then went on towards the sloop. About noon the wind rising, Capt. Gascoigne, in the Hawk, weighed, came over the bar at once, and came to an anchor in Jekyl sound.

In the middle of the night, between the first and second of June, Captain Ferguson arrived in the scout boat, with an account that Major Richard and Mr. Horton, and some others of the men, were prisoners at Augustine. That Capt. Hermsdorf, expecting every hour to be attacked by the Spaniards, the island St. George not being yet in a posture of defence, and apprehending a mutiny amongst his men, was come away from thence; that he had seen him safe as far as the north end of Cumberland, where he had left him with the periagua and the marine boat; but that if he was pursued, as he believed he was, he apprehended they would easily fall into the Spaniards' hands, the men being mutinous, which was the reason he advised him to come up to St. Andrews; but the other did not think fit to conform to it. Mr. Oglethorpe sending for him to his tent, inquired the matter more particularly of him; after which he spent the rest of the night in writing, making proper dispositions, and sending for such assistance as he thought could be procured, resolving himself to set out in the morning for the southward. He spoke to the people, to take off any panic fear that this accident might have occasioned, though they were very far from being frightened, or even surprised; for they had been all along, by continual alarms, accustomed to expect that they should at last be obliged to fight for their lands.

Mr. Oglethorpe told the particulars of the whole story, which were, that Major Richard, on his arrival at St. George's had sent over to the Spanish side, according as he had promised to the Governor of Augustine, but met with no horses or persons at the look-out, as was appointed: some days passing, he being very impatient to carry his letters, pursuant to his promise of returning in three weeks; and there being great danger of going in open boats from St. John's to the bar of Augustine, as he had before experienced. Mr. Horton seeing it was for the service, offered to walk to Augustine by land, taking a servant and another man with him, to give notice to the Governor of the Major's being arrived with the letters. He was accordingly landed at the Spanish look-out,

from whence he was set out for Augustine. Some days after, two smokes being made at the Spanish look-out, which was the signal agreed, Major Richard sent over the marine boat, which brought for answer, that there was a guard and horses ready to conduct him to Augustine, but that the Spaniards looked and behaved in such a manner as seemed to be more like enemies than friends. Both men and officers advised that Major Richard should not go without the Spaniards left some one as security for his safety ; but he resolved to go.

Being landed on the other side, the Spaniards brought him a horse, and as soon as he was mounted carried him away without taking any leave of the boat. A few days after this, some smokes being made on the Spanish side, the boat went over to see what message there was, and brought back a piece of dirty paper, with something wrote in German, with a black lead pencil, said by the Spaniards to be wrote to Captain Horton, by Major Richard. There was nothing of consequence in those lines only that he was got well to the captain of horse's quarters. They saw the appearance of more Spaniards than usual on the main, and also several fires. Mr. Horton not returning, the Spaniards appearing, and Major Richard writing in so short a manner, that he was arrived at the captain of horse's quarters, made Mr. Hermsdorf conclude that he was kept prisoner there, and that he dared not write plainer, because the letter passed through the Spaniards' hands. Besides this, his men being very unwilling to do their guard exactly, or be vigilant when sentries, the fort not being yet tenable, and being informed that there was a general meeting designed, he thought it was best to re-embark every thing, and retire to Amelia sound, through which the Spaniards must pass, if they came between the islands to attack the colony. And if they advanced with such force as to be able to overpower him, he could perceive them soon enough to retire under the cannon at St. Andrews, and there he resolved to stay till he had farther orders; and sent up the scout boat for them.

Mr. Oglethorpe having informed them of this, he farther acquainted them, that he was going down himself to set things to rights, that now the man-of-war was come it would guard the entrance of Jekyl sound ; that the detachment of the independent company would prevent landing upon the back of the island, and that their fort was in a good condi-

tion to make a defence if men should land, and force their way through the country; that there was sufficient provision in the fort of all kinds for eight months; so they had nothing to do but to be vigilant against surprises. He left orders for the guards, and Mr. M'Intosh, a Scotch gentleman who had been several years in the king's service, and Mr. Auspourger as engineer to instruct them in their military duty.

The people in general answered they were under no apprehension, and were willing to die in the defence of the place, and were only sorry that he should be exposed without them.

He set out by eight o'clock for the southward in Captain Ferguson's scout boat, and I having finished transcribing the letters, Mr. Tanner in about three hours followed him in the Georgia scout boat, John Rae, commander.

We continued unloading the two ships, and bringing every thing into the storehouse, which was now finished on the outside, but the covering was not yet quite water proof.

The people were employed in building a wheelwright's shop, and a cornhouse, being apprehensive that the Indian corn (which is very bulky) and the geer would suffer by being exposed to the wet. Several periaguas and boats arrived from Savannah with numbers of volunteers on board, they having heard many reports by way of Charlestown, and by the Indians, that the Spaniards intended to attack us. And it was confidently reported there, that the town was taken and Mr. Oglethorpe killed.

On the 8th, there was a large boat with four pieces of cannon, and full of men attempted to come in at Jekyl sound, without colors: Ensign Delegal fired to make her bring too (and give an account of herself) and to know whether she was a pirate, or what she should be, which she did not do, but rowed on, at the same time she discovered the Hawk sloop in the harbor, and she, instead of coming in, or shewing colors, ran out to sea, round Jekyl sound, and into Cumberland sound, it being then night, she came pretty near St. Andrews before she was discovered; but being challenged by them, a man answered in English, and they rowed away with the utmost precipitation. On board this boat, as we heard afterwards, was Don Ignatio, with a detachment of the Spanish garrison, and as many Indians and boatmen as the launch could hold.

The same afternoon arrived the king of the Uchee Indians, in a large periagua, with a great many of his men, and one Chevers, a white man who traded amongst them. Arrived also Lieutenant Delegal, with the remainder of the independent company, with thirteen pieces of cannon belonging to them; he passed on to the sea point. The Indians and the volunteers staid for Mr. Oglethorpe's return; so that we were increased in strength.

On the 9th Mr. Oglethorpe returned. I procured an account of his journey from those that went with him as follows. "When he set out he went first on board Capt. Gascoigne; he left Ferguson's scout boat, taking with him Rae's scout boat, and Capt. Gascoigne's six-oared yawl, on board the which was Mr. Moore, Lieutenant of the man-of-war, and a crew of very good men. They came to St. Andrews in the night, and hastening forward, the next day about noon having reached the south end of Cumberland, they met the periagua and marine boat at anchor; there Mr. Oglethorpe asking how all went on board, Mr. Hermsdorf answering, Well, not to lose time he ordered them to weigh anchor and follow him out to sea, the wind being then fair. They stood out accordingly; after they were out at sea the wind changing the periagua was not able to reach the south end of Amelia, but the scout boat and yawl got into the inlet, and waited the next day for the periagua. In the mean time stopping at a little creek that fell into the sea, upon the ebbing of the water, the men caught more fish with their hands, their oars and a sail, for they had no net, than all the men on board the three boats and the periagua could eat. When the periagua came up, and the men were come on shore, Mr. Oglethorpe inquired into the past transactions, and having quieted the mutinous humor among the men, occasioned by a misunderstanding, fomented only by one of them who was punished, they resolved all to do their utmost; and on the 5th at noon, arrived at St. George's.

"He immediately landed, and viewing the ground, found but very little cleared, but there was a mount just upon the edge of the river, which was salt water, and the ruins of a rampart and ditch about twenty-five or thirty foot from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the ruined rampart. There was upon the top of the hill another mount cast up by hands, like the bulwarks with which they fortified in Queen

Elizabeth's time, from whence the hill descended on one side to the water ; from thence, if the woods were cleared, one could overlook the inside of the island ; and from this bulwark you could also see the Spanish look-out, and discover, far into the ocean, for it overlooks Talbot island, which is narrow in that place, and lies between that and the sea. They immediately mounted one piece of cannon, on the lower mount bulwark, which commanded the river, and a couple of swivel guns on the upper mount ; several of the men were set to clearing, in-order to judge better of the ground.

“Leaving Mr. Hermsdorf with the periagua and marine boat, Mr. Oglethorpe set out with the scout boat and yawl for the Spanish side, carrying a flag of truce in order to inquire what was become of Major Richard and Mr. Horton and his men. There was nobody at the Spanish look-out ; they rowed up to a palmetto hut. Mr. Oglethorpe went ashore about a musket shot from it, and climbing one of the sand hills, to see if there were any people, he ordered Mr. Tanner and four youths that belonged to him to come on shore, making the boats to keep at a grappling, to prevent being surprised, in case of accidents. He sent forward the white flag, and having examined well into the country, he passed through a little wood into an open savannah. There was nobody in the palmetto hut, nor could they discover any men, finding only two horses tied with hobbles amongst the sand hills. He staid upon a rising ground, from whence he could see both the boats and the savannah, and sent one of his lads with a white flag, as far down the Savannah as he could keep him in sight ; to see if he could draw any people to a conference, but nobody appearing, he called in his servants in order to return. A boy named Frazier was not yet come back, for whom he staid, and in a little time saw him returning through the wood, driving before him a tall man with a musket upon his shoulder, two pistols stuck in his girdle, and a long sword and a short sword. Frazier coming up to Mr. Oglethorpe said, ‘Here sir, I have caught a Spaniard for you.’ Mr. Oglethorpe treated this man civilly, gave him wine and victuals, and asked concerning Major Richard and Mr. Horton ; on which the fellow pulled out a letter, which he said was from Mr. Horton, whom the Governor of St. Augustine had put under arrest, as also

Major Richard. The man said, he had watched some days for an opportunity to deliver the letter. Mr. Oglethorpe rewarded him well, and appointed to send him an answer by the next day at noon to the same place, which he agreed to come to receive. He would have given him a letter to the Governor of Augustine, but the man said that none could be carried, for that a troop of horse under the command of Don Pedro kept all the passages, so that all letters must go to him. They returned to St. George's. Mr. Oglethorpe had great fires made on Talbot island, another on St. George's, each a mile below the fort, and another a mile and half in the woods; so that any boat coming up the river, between them and the fort, would be discovered by the light of them. That night the men lay upon their arms, strict sentries were kept, the seamen having the charge of the lower mount, and Mr. Hermsdorf's men of the upper. There were sentries placed two hundred yards into the woods every way, and either Mr. Hermsdorf or Mr. Oglethorpe kept going the rounds all night. One scout boat was anchored near half a mile below them, and the marine boat near half a mile above, to watch the river.

"On the 6th, before day break, all hands set to cut down the wood, and with it they raised barricades from the upper mount to the lower; and all trees that were fit for it they cut into palisades by eight of the clock. Mr. Oglethorpe ordered seven shots to be fired out of the two several guns, which for that purpose were ordered to be carried farther into the woods; and then at a moderate distance of time five shots to be fired out of the four pounder, which also was hauled into the wood, and the muzzle turned another way, that the flash might not be discovered from the Spanish lookout: this seemed to be guns from different distances; for the small report of the swivel guns made them appear further off, and the four pounders to be nearer; so that it appeared to be a ship saluting at some distance behind the island, and that returned by a forte. At ten of the clock Mr. Oglethorpe stood down with the scout boat, and Lieutenant Moore in the yawl, with the marine boat in company; they went to the Spanish main, but did not see the Spaniard at the place appointed, but discovered some horsemen that were concealed behind the sand hills. Mr. Oglethorpe would not suffer the boats to go near where there was any shelter, but to go to

the landing place, where there was a plain sand for a musket shot round. There we made signals carrying a flag of truce, but nobody would appear. After that, some horsemen made signals two miles below, but there was a close brushy wood just behind them, which made it not proper to trust the boats there. Whilst they were looking at these horsemen, Mr. Oglethorpe discovered something which looked like a bank with pelicans upon it; but looking more attentively he saw it was a launch full of men, lying under the shelter of a sand bank, near the mouth of the river St. John's, within shot of which bank he must have passed to come to the place where the horsemen had made the signals. There was a strong tide of ebb, and if the boat had stood down to the horsemen, the Spaniards might have cut them off from returning, since they must have rowed up against tide, and she would have been above them. Mr. Oglethorpe, upon this, asked Mr. Moore if he was for examining the launch first, which Mr. Moore readily agreed to, and Mr. Oglethorpe sent off the marine boat, to order the periagua to weigh anchor and come down directly. As soon as the marine boat was gone off from them, they rowed towards the launch: as they came nearer, the men who before had kept themselves so low that they could only see their heads, started up at once and rowed out to sea. Upon this the two boats stopped, that they might not be carried too far down with the ebb, and put in where the horsemen were, but would not go within danger of an ambuscade from the bushes or sand hills. Upon which two horsemen came up to the open point of a level sand, where Mr. Oglethorpe had before made the signals. The boat rowing up to them, Mr. Oglethorpe had a conference with one of them, a gentleman dressed in blue and very well mounted: he sent letters on shore to him, which he promised to deliver, and that he should have an answer in a day's time. The boats returned to St. George's, and meeting the periagua, which was come half way towards them, as soon as they landed they fell all to work, Mr. Oglethorpe as well as the rest: he marked out the ground for the fort enclosing the lower mount, and joining it to the upper mount by a line of palisadoes, marking it out, as also where the breastworks should be; and clearing the old ditches, palisading the breaches and the rampart; having begun by palisading the side towards the water.

“Having staid for the Spaniards' answer till the 8th in the

evening, and it not arriving, Mr. Oglethorpe and Mr. Moore set out in Capt. Gascoigne's yawl, leaving all the other boats and men at St. George's under the command of Mr. Hermsdorf. He landed on the main, and there made great fires in different places, which could be seen as far as the Spanish look-out; Mr. Hermsdorf having been ordered to do the same at several places on St. George's island. After which they went down to the north end of Talbot island, and there set all the wood on fire, which also could be seen from the Spanish look-out; they slept some hours upon the sea sand, and about an hour before day-break, the weather being boisterous, and the boat rather overloaded, they set several of the men on shore upon the south end of Amelia, ordering them to march along the sand beach, to the north end. Mr. Oglethorpe then went out to sea with the yawl, and got into the opening between Cumberland and Amelia, where they took in the men; and rowing all day, passed St. Andrews, and a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain overtook them in Cumberland sound, the weather growing so dark that they could not see any land; notwithstanding which they still rowed on, and got that night on board the Hawk. Mr. Oglethorpe having first spoke to Capt. Gascoigne went forward to Frederica, where he arrived three hours after midnight."

On the 10th, he found here the Uchee Mico with his men, and the others which waited his arrival. He wrote a great number of letters, upon this new situation of affairs, which confirmed all the reports of the Spaniards beginning to commit hostilities against us. It was necessary therefore to stop them nearer home, and for that purpose to make the great push at St. George's; since whilst we held that passage from the river St. John's, it was difficult for them to come in open boats to us, there being forty miles from St. Augustine to St. John's, where they can have no port, but must keep out at sea, where every squall is dangerous, but from St. John's there is a passage through channels, within the islands as far as Charlestown. If open boats could not come up, ships would be very cautious of venturing in upon an unknown coast.

Mr. Oglethorpe therefore prepared for the supporting of St. George's, being resolved to have those of his men who were prisoners at Augustine brought back to him.

If the Spaniards could arm the Florida Indians, or have gained the upper Creeks, it would have been of great danger to the colony; for the Floridas amount to several thousand men; but they have few or no fire arms. The next danger was from the troops which would have come from Havannah. As there was no more provisions at Augustine than what was necessary for the people already there, therefore if they could be prevented from receiving such supplies, a large number of men from Havannah would be of no service to them, if we could spin out a defence till their provision were wasted. To obtain these two purposes Mr. Oglethorpe first wrote to the lieutenant governor of Carolina, advice of the Spaniards' intention to provide themselves with arms and ammunition and Indian presents, at Charlestown, which was the only place they could have them from time enough to do us any mischief; and therefore desired him to hinder the exportation of them.

At the same time he wrote to Mr. Eveleigh, a public spirited man and a merchant in Charlestown, that if the Governor and Council of Carolina could not prevent the sending out arms, ammunition, &c. that he should buy up what was in town, and thereby prevent the Spaniards from being at present supplied with them.

He also wrote to the Governor at New York on account of this matter, that he might take such measures for his majesty's service as his prudence should direct; the Spaniards expecting to be supplied with flour and other provisions from their correspondents at that place.

On the 11th Toma Chi Chi Mico, with Hyllispilli his chief war captain, newly came from the Indian nation, and who had been with him in England, and a great many other warriors arrived here; as also Mrs. Musgrove and her brother, an half Indian called Griffin, and several other Indians.

The Uchee Indian king and his people had a conference with Mr. Oglethorpe; they had taken some disgust at this colony, by reason of an indiscreet action of one of the Saltzburghers, who had cleared and planted four acres of land beyond the Ebenezer river, contrary to Mr. Oglethorpe's order, and without his knowledge; they had also turned their cattle over the river, some of which had strayed away and eat the Uchee's corn twenty miles above Ebenezer. But what vexed the Uchees most was, that some of the Carolina

people swam a great herd of cattle over Savannah river, sent up negroes and began a plantation on the Georgia side, not far from the Uchee's town. Mr Oglethorpe had heard these matters from Toma Chi Chi, and had given orders for the remedy of them, as I mentioned before.

The Uchee king in the conference said, that he came to give him thanks, for having ordered back the cattle, and sent away the negroes, which he did on his first arrival; and then told him, that he having done them justice before they asked it, made them love him, and not believe the stories that were told them against him; and that instead of beginning a war with the English, they were come down to help him against the Spaniards; and if they wanted them they would bring fourscore more of their warriors, and stay with him a whole year.

All hands were employed in putting on board arms, ammunition, tools, &c., for St. George's: and on the 12th Mr. Oglethorpe set out accompanied by Toma Chi Chi Mico and his Indians, by the Uchees, and a body of white men, with stores of all kinds. Toma Chi Chi and his men went in their boats.

Nothing material happened whilst Mr. Oglethorpe was absent, only that I made an end of unloading the two ships, James, Captain Yokely, and the Peter and James, Captain Dymond, settled their accounts and discharged them. Lieutenant Delegal was now with the whole independent company at the sea point, and the man-of-war sloop so anchored as to secure the entry from Jekyl sound, and the store-house being then finished, we therefore could discharge the ships which hitherto had served both for store-houses and guard ships. The colony was chiefly taken up with preparing for their defence, Mr. M'Intosh exercising the men daily.

On the 14th, at night, to our great joy Mr. Horton arrived at Frederica from among the Spaniards, and gave us an account that he had met Mr. Oglethorpe at sea, and that he would be very soon back. He told me "that at his arrival at St. George's Point, in April last, he sent over to the Spaniards' look-out, expecting to find horses there, according to the governor's appointment, but there being none, nor no guard, nor persons to be seen, after having expected them four days in vain, and Major Richard having no means of sending advice to the Governor of Augustine of his arrival,

Mr. Horton offered to go, and set out on foot with two servants. The Sunday he left the Spanish look-out, he arrived at Augustine, being upwards of forty miles; the way he walked lay all along the sea shore, one servant kept up with him, the other not being able to hold out. There is a river runs near the castle of Augustine, which must be passed by those who go from the Spanish look-out: he arrived at the river within sight of the castle about four in the evening, and fired his gun several times for a boat to come and carry him over; at last one came, and carrying him over, he was conducted to the governor, who received him very civilly. From whence he went to Don Carlos Dempsey's house, who went immediately to the governor's house, to desire a party might be sent out to fetch in the man who was left behind; for at that time the Spaniards were so apprehensive of the Indians, that they did not venture to go over the river, but in bodies. The governor granted his request, and the next day ordered a detachment for him, who found and carried him to Don Carlos's house, who applied also for horses to fetch up Major Richard from the look-out; which were accordingly sent.

"They were received very civilly by the Governor, and with the greatest joy by the people, who looked upon them as the messengers of their deliverance, for bringing them the news that the English boats patrol upon the river, to hinder the barbarous Indians from passing and molesting them. Major Richard and Mr. Horton waited for the Governor's answer to Mr. Oglethorpe's letter, which was daily promised them. One night, being invited, they went to a general dancing, at the house of the Governor's interpreter, where they stayed till three o'clock in the morning; when they returned they went to bed, and before they awaked, about eight o'clock the same morning, Diego Paulo, Town Major, came from the Governor to Don Carlos Dempsey with a file of musketeers, and acquainted him with the Spaniards' false pretence, which was, that Major Richard, Mr. Horton, and their servants, had that very morning been taking a plan of their town and castle, (though they having sat up late and were then abed) the Governor had sent a serjeant and twelve men to make them prisoners, one sentry being set at the foot, and another at the head of the stairs. The Town Major then told Don Carlos that he needed to fear nothing, but was at liberty to come and go as he always had done since his arrival there.

"The same morning about ten, the Governor came to Don Carlos's lodging, accompanied by some officers and the public scrivener of the garrison, and having sat down, began a formal information and examination of Major Richard. The Governor asked him what brought him there: he answered, that he was come pursuant to his promise to his Excellency of returning to him with letters from Mr. Oglethorpe. He then asked where Mr. Oglethorpe was? He answered, he could not tell where he then was, but he had left him at Frederica. Upon which he asked, what fortifications and number of men were at Frederica? To which the Major answered, he did not know. He then asked what fortifications and number of men were at Jekyl sound, Cumberland island, Amelia island and St. John's? To which the Major answered the same as before. Whereupon the Governor retired; and some time after sent for the Major to his house. He then examined Mr. Horton to the strength of Georgia; but he refused to give them any answer; upon which they threatened to send him to the mines. To which he answered, that he was a subject of Great Britain, and his sovereign was powerful enough to do him justice.

The next day, upon Don Carlos's application, the guards were taken off, he undertaking for them, and promising upon honor, that they should not walk about the town, nor leave it without his Excellency's permission. Some days after, they sent out Don Ignation Rosso, lieutenant colonel of the garrison, with a detachment of it in a large boat called a launch: he staid out about five days, and returned extremely fatigued, the men having rowed the skin off their hands; and reported that the islands were all fortified, and full of men and armed boats. After this, Don Carlos spoke to the governor, bishop, and the rest of the officers, a council of war was called, and it was resolved to send back Major Richard, Mr. Horton, and the other men; and also letters of civility to Mr. Oglethorpe, with Don Carlos Dempsey, Don Pedro Lamberto, captain of horse, and Don Manuel D'Arcy, adjutant of the garrison, and to desire friendship. Mr. Horton was accordingly released, arrived at St. George's from whence he came in a boat manned with his own servants, and meeting Mr. Oglethorpe at sea, as above mentioned, he had sent him forwards to have the Spaniards received on board Capt. Gascoigne (they being on the way in a launch)

that they might not get any information either of our strength or situation.

“Mr. Oglethorpe returned on the 17th. On leaving this place he went first on board Capt. Gascoigne’s ship, and from thence proceeded to Cumberland, where landing at St. Andrews, he took on board Capt. Hugh Mackay. The 13th, in the evening, the periagua in which Mr. Mackay was on board grounded near the south of Cumberland, and getting her off on the 14th, they stood to sea on the outside of Amelia: the weather being rough, the Indian canoes landed several men, that they might be the better able to bear the weather, for they were too much thronged to bear the sea. They saw a boat, and making up to it, found it to be Mr. Horton returned from the Spaniards. At the south end of Amelia Mr. Oglethorpe (the scout boat being foremost) saw a launch coming down from St. George’s, bearing up to her; she hoisted Spanish colors, and challenging her, they found she had Don Carlos Dempsey and Spanish Commissaries aboard her. Mr. Oglethorpe, to avoid the ceremony which must have passed on his owning himself there, and which would have prevented his going to St. George’s, caused Mr. Mackay to speak to them without going on board: he advised them to come to an anchor, till a safe-guard should be sent to them, for that the country was full of Indians. They accordingly did so; in a very short time after Mr. Oglethorpe met with Rae’s scout boat, and putting Mr. Tanner on board her, together with a jar of wine, and other refreshments, bade them go on board the Spaniards; and ordered Mr. Tanner to take care and acquaint the Indians not to molest them, and to desire Capt. Gascoigne to entertain them till his return. Mr. Oglethorpe lay at a grappling till he should see the boat join her. The Indians, who were by this time come up, some by land and some by water, seeing a Spanish launch, some of the boats went to shore to take in those who came by land, but Toma Chi Chi with the great boat in which he was, bore up towards her; the other Indian canoes, as fast as they could get their men on shore, rowed after him; but Mr. Tanner being on board letting him know that they were friends, he followed Mr. Oglethorpe, who soon after arrived at St. George’s, where he met Major Richard, who had staid there. All the men and stores being arrived, he gave the best directions that short time would permit, and using the

utmost diligence, returned to Frederica in order to receive the Spaniards, but being obliged to pass by the man-of-war, on board of which the Spaniards already were, by making certain signals, their boat came off to him, and he went by without being remarked by the Spaniards, who were received in a very handsome manner by Capt. Gascoigne."

As soon as he came back he sent Ensign Mackay up to Darien, that he might return with some of the genteelst Highlanders, and be present at the conference. Then he ordered two handsome tents lined with Chinese, with marquises and walls of canvass, to be sent down and pitched upon Jekyl island, and also a present of refreshments, and two gentlemen to acquaint them, that he would wait upon them the next day.

The 18th Mr. Oglethorpe, with seven horses and men upon them (which were all we had) went down to the sea-point, that the Spaniards might see that there were men and horses there. At his setting out a number of cannons were fired, which they also could hear at Jekyl island. When he arrived at the point, the independent company was under arms, being drawn up in one line at double distances to make them appear a larger number to the Spaniards, who lay upon Jekyl island. The independent company saluting him with their cannon, managing them so as to seem to have many more guns by re-loading. Capt. Gascoigne came with his boat and two scout boats, and he going with Capt. Gascoigne on board his boat, the other attending, landed on Jekyl island. He welcomed the Spanish officers and made a compliment to them, making them presents of some refreshments: and Capt. Gascoigne invited them to dinner on board the Hawk sloop the next day, where Mr. Oglethorpe told them he would receive their message.

The 19th Ensign Mackay arrived on board the man-of-war with the Highlanders, and a detachment of the independent company in their regimentals lined the one side of the ship, as the Highlanders with their broad swords, targets, plaids, &c. did the other. The sailors manned all the shrouds, and the rest of the ship, and kept sentries at the cabin door with drawn cutlasses. The Spanish Commissaries were very handsomely entertained; and after dinner delivered their messages in writing.

They drank the healths of the King of Great Britain and the royal family, as Mr. Oglethorpe did those of the King

and Queen of Spain. The cannons of the ship fired, which were answered (as before agreed upon) by such cannon as were within hearing. Next day they were entertained in like manner, and had long conferences with Mr. Oglethorpe.

On the 21st he gave them their answer. They made him some presents of snuff, chocolate, &c. and he returned them very handsome ones. All the time they were there, we sent down sheep, hogs, and poultry, with garden stuff in plenty for all their mén, as also butter, cheese, wine, beer, and all other refreshments.

Toma Chi Chi, Hyllispilli, and near thirty of the chiefest Indians, being returned from the southward, came on board, painted and dressed as they are for war; Hyllispilli demanded justice for killing the Indians, and other outrages. The Spanish Commissary, Don Pedro, knowing some of the facts, but seeming to doubt the rest, he having his interpreter, who spoke Indian, Spanish, and English; and the English having theirs, who spoke Indian and good English. The Indians proved, that a party of forty Spaniards and Indians, had fallen upon some of their nation, who then lay depending upon the general peace between the Spaniards, the Indians and the English, without suspicion, and consequently without guard: that thus surprised several were killed and several were taken: that they murdered the boys who were taken, by dashing out their brains, as also the wounded men. Don Pedro, struck with horror at the cruelty, asking how they could know this, they produced a young Indian who was wounded upon that occasion, the scar of which he shewed: he said that he escaped, in the confusion by lying close amongst some bushes; that he followed them for two days, hiding himself in the thickets, and seeing all that had passed, intending if any had straggled to revenge himself upon them. They farther said, that an Indian who had been on that party bragged of it at St. Marks, to one of the upper Creeks who went down to trade there with the Spaniards: at the same time saying, that they were sent out from Augustine, which the Indians said was so known a thing that it could not be denied. Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe desired Don Pedro to represent this to the Governor of Augustine, for that he should expect satisfaction to be given to them for this insult, they being subjects to the King of Great Britain. What Mr. Oglethorpe said was interpreted to the Indians. On which Hyllispilli said, he hoped Mr. Oglethorpe would go

with them, and then he should see what they could do to the Spaniards, but if he would not go with them, they would go by themselves and take revenge.

When this happened (said he) I was gone with you to England; had I not been with you this would not have happened; for had I been there, my men should not have been so surprised. You will go with me, and you shall see how I will punish them, but if you will not help me, I have friends enough that will go with me to revenge the murder. At which all the young Indians gave a shout.

Don Pedro said that there was a party of Indians which he knew went from the neighborhood of Augustine, but that they were not Spaniards: that he himself at that time was at Mexico, on a message from the governor: that such cruelty must be abhorred by every Christian; and that he would take it upon him that the people who had committed it should be punished: that the Pohoia king of the Floridas was the man who commanded that party; and that if he ever came into Augustine, so as the Spaniards could secure him, the governor and council of war should punish him as his cruelty deserved; and if he came not within their power they would banish him.

To this Hyllispilli said, We hear what you say; when we see it done we will believe you. Toma Chi Chi persuaded them to be contented. Ympeachy added, that he supposed there would be notice given to the Pohoia king not to come into Augustine; but if he does not, there is no other place in Florida where he shall be safe from our revenge.

This night a party of Indians coming up from the southward, landed on Jekyl island, and were going to attack the Spaniards, with whom they began to quarrel, by taking their victuals from them; but the Spaniards quietly retired from it. Notwithstanding which the Indians were going to fall upon them, and were with great difficulty prevented from it.

The Spaniards set out on the 22d, very well satisfied with their reception. Don Pedro Lamberto is a little man of very good sense and well bred; he never was in Europe. He was born in Florida, his father being captain general of it: he has great herds of cattle in Florida, and a house not far distant from Augustine, which is fortified: he hath an estate in Mexico, and is captain of a troop of horse which belongs to the garrison, the appointments of which amount to about two thousand pieces of eight per annum.

AN
IMPARTIAL INQUIRY
INTO
THE STATE AND UTILITY
OF
THE PROVINCE OF GEORGIA.

LONDON: 1741.

AN IMPARTIAL INQUIRY.

THE many reports, which have been industriously propagated to the disadvantage of the Colony of Georgia, call for an inquiry into the reasons and validity of them; especially at this time, when the importance of the Province is so necessary to be known. And this inquiry will be made in the plainest manner, as there is no intention to amuse or deceive the public, but only to lay the naked truth before them; or to persuade them into an opinion of the colony; but with regard to the general interest of Great Britain. The principal objections consist of the following particulars, viz.

1. That the climate is unhealthy.
2. That the soil is barren.
3. That no produces for trade can be raised in it.
4. That the lands were granted upon improper tenures and conditions.
5. That it will be impracticable to render the colony of any value, without the use of negroes.

These objections will be considered in order; and as the first three of them relate to matters of fact about the country,

they will be truly stated, and the answers to them will be chiefly collected from the evidence of persons who have been in the province; and the evidence itself will be annexed in an Appendix, as it was delivered upon oath before a magistrate in Georgia, or before some of the masters in Chancery here. The affidavits which were made before the masters in Chancery, are none of them confined to any particular points; they branch out into several, as the business or curiosity of the deponents led them into an observation of them; and where they speak of the same things, they agree.

In answer to the last objection, I shall show, from his majesty's royal charter, the first design of the establishment, and how inconsistent negroes are with it, as likewise with the welfare of Georgia; and if Georgia should receive them how prejudicial they would be to South Carolina: how needless also they were for the products which are designed to be raised there; and in support of the arguments, a petition will be added, of many of the inhabitants against them, in the Appendix.

In the last place I shall endeavor to make appear, upon the oaths of experienced persons, the goodness and great importance of the harbors, and then give some account of the present state of the colony.

But first it may be requisite to take notice, that the objections have been raised by different sorts of people, from their different views; but none of these views seem to have been directed towards the true interest either of Great Britain or the province itself.

The agents of the Court of Spain have from the beginning been industrious to make it thought of no importance to us, perhaps from a true and just sense of how much use it might be to them. They seemed to think, that, by undervaluing, they should make Great Britain more negligent of it, and more ready to give it up on demand. But by this demand they have given a proof of its value, and a strong argument for our preserving it. The late Spanish minister Geraldino has often declared, that his master would as soon part with Madrid, as with his claim to Georgia. The king of Spain did claim it by a memorial from Monsieur Geraldino, September 21, 1736, and an armament was sent to Cuba, at a great expense, in the beginning of the year 1737, to take by force what they had represented as a barren, useless spot.

Some of the objections have taken their birth from the discontent of a few of the persons who were sent thither, but principally from others of a superior rank, who went at their own expense. These, being too sanguine in their hopes, or idle in their dispositions, formed romantic scenes of happiness, and imagined they could find the conveniences and pleasures of life without any labor or toil. They did not consider the hardships inseparable from the first settlement of a new country, uncultivated, and consequently requiring industry and time, before it could afford them necessaries: therefore, finding themselves disappointed, they grew uneasy in their situation, and for their uneasiness would assign some plausible excuse.

The difficulties which attend the beginning of a settlement, are very great, especially beginning it with low and necessitous people. It is hard to form these into society, and reduce them to a proper obedience to the laws. They always repine at the preferment of any of their own body to be magistrates over them, and they think every regulation a grievance, how mild soever it may be, or evidently for their welfare.

As they have never been used to look forward, they live but to the present day, and are unwilling to labor for any thing but an immediate subsistence; they start at any difficulties near, and are disheartened from attempting at any profits which may be distant. In short, as Lord Bacon says, * "They consume provisions, grow weary of the place, and then write over to the prejudice and discredit of the plantation."

Nothing has been omitted for the welfare of the people, and to give them a spirit of industry. They were sent over in convenient transports, where such regard was had to their provisions and accommodation, that out of upwards of fifteen hundred natives and foreigners, who have been sent at the public charge, above six have not died in the passage. They were furnished with clothing and provisions for some years. They were likewise supplied with arms for their defence, working tools for their labor, a stock of cattle, and seeds of all kinds for their lands, which were judged proper for the country.

* Lord Bacon's *Essays*, vol. 3, page 349.

As the reader may perhaps be early in starting the following objection, Why was not more care taken in the choice of the persons who were sent? It may be proper here to observe, that the intention was to make the settlement principally with those, who were a burden on the public at home. And though it was apprehended, that many of them would still continue idle, yet it was not doubted, but some would, as they do, prove industrious, and lay a foundation for foreign protestants and others to join them; and the Charity was confined to those, who were most indigent in town, it being thought not so proper to take people from the plough, or the necessary labors of the country, though these would have been more useful to the province.

As the objectors before mentioned have propagated the reports to the discredit of the Province; many have been too easy in their belief of them, and perhaps from a sincere regard to the public. They have seen no great quantity of any produce; and therefore have concluded that none can be raised. But besides the particular disadvantages, under which Georgia has labored, by the continued alarms of danger from the Spaniards; and by the necessity the people were under to fortify themselves, as well as clear their lands, build their houses, and raise a subsistence; it ought to be considered, that none of our most beneficial colonies have yielded any early profit. This has depended on, and must be owing to an increase of the people. Experience has always justified it, as the reason of it is obvious. Lord Bacon makes the following wise observation:* "Planting of colonies is like planting of woods, for you must make an account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expense your recompense in the end. The principal thing that has been the destruction of most plantations, has been the sordid and hasty catching at profit in the first years. It is true, quick returns are not to be neglected, so far as consists with the good of the plantation, but no farther." Lord Bacon formed this judgment upon the most solid reasons, and he wrote this, upon observing people too sanguine in their expectations, and too ready to condemn upon the first disappointment of them. Virginia struggled long in her infancy, before she grew to any strength; many more years, than Georgia

* Lord Bacon's Essays, vol. 3, p. 349.

has been established, had past before any returns were made for the great sums which had been expended. Those, who were impatient, not seeing them so soon as they expected, raised and fomented clamors against its establishment. They declaimed upon the improbability of its success, and the ill consequences of drawing people from England only to perish for want. By letters from* discontented persons there, and by others who were too credulous here, it was represented as a barren and unprofitable country. These clamors spread, and prevailed, as time advanced unladen with any profits. Three several contributions (of large sums too) were made by the first undertakers. One of them amounted to near £40,000, a very considerable sum in those days. For above forty years no great improvements were made, and till †the government undertook to carry it on, and promoted it with vigor, it continued in the same languishing condition. But if they had been intimidated with the clamors, and had despaired of the little prospect of success in the spring of their undertaking, they had lost the harvest of their hopes and labor, and England had been deprived of what has proved one of her richest mines. But to proceed to the objections; and,

1. That the climate is unhealthy.

The reverse of this has been found by the people even in their first settling, in both parts of the Province, and this was the time of trial. No general illness has at any time prevailed there, (even when South Carolina has suffered by them) unless when rum and other spirituous liquors have stolen into the Province. By drinking of rum to an excess one year, many of the people were thrown into burning fevers, which carried off several, and that was the cause as they confessed at their deaths. The flux is a distemper to which new comers in most countries are liable, and some of the people in Georgia had it. But it was chiefly owing to the want of reflection, how requisite it is for men to regulate their diet and manner of living, in a different way in the latitude of thirty-one, from that which they were accustomed to in the latitude of fifty-one, in which they may safely eat and drink those things, which, if indulged in Georgia, would

* Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affairs of Virginia. By his Majesty's Council for Virginia. London, 1630.

† Keith's History of Virginia.

give them a fever, and consequently a flux. The *heat in Georgia is not greater than in the southern parts of Europe, and there is almost constantly in summer a refreshing breeze from the sea, from eight in the morning till twelve, and from three or four till sun-setting, and the night afterwards is free from those faint and gloomy heats which are so troublesome in some places. What must contribute to the healthiness of the place, is the great quantity of fine running water; for besides the large rivers there are many rivulets, and numberless springs of water, which is sweet, clear, and cool. As the swamps come to be drained and cultivated, and the woods to be thinned or cleared, the country will consequently grow still more healthful. But to proceed to the second objection, which has been more generally and industriously propagated.

2. That the soil is barren.

The land has been found barren only by those, who would not take any pains or labor to make it fruitful. The soil is different, as the land is divided into high and lower grounds. It consists of four sorts generally speaking, which are distinguished and commonly known by the names of pine-barren; oak and hickory, or mixt land; savannah, and swamps.

Pine-barren. This is so called from the pines growing on it, with scarce any other sorts of timber; and the soil, being dry and sandy, will not produce grain like the other lands. However there is a grass upon it, which feeds abundance of cattle. This being high is found a healthy situation, and the houses are generally built upon it.

Oak and Hickory, or Mixt Land. There is the usual proportion of this sort, as in the neighboring provinces. It is not so high as the pine-barren, nor so low as the swamps. It takes the name of oak and hickory from the great number of those trees growing on it, not but there is a variety of others among them. It has a clay bottom, which in hot countries is esteemed the best, as it keeps the roots of trees, &c. cool. It is covered with a fine mould, is light and works easy, and most things, which are planted on it, answer very well even in the first year. It †produces, when cultivated, Indian corn, potatoes, peas, wheat, barley and rye with great

* Appendix, No. 1.

† Appendix, No. 2.

increase, asparagus, cauliflowers, cabbage, carrots, and all sorts of garden stuff in abundance: likewise vines, black and white mulberries, apples, peaches, figs, and most kinds of fruits that grow in England; besides many other very useful ones, as oranges, olives, pomegranates, watermelons, &c. which will not thrive in our colder climate.

Savannah Land. This is extremely proper for husbandry; a strong grass grows naturally upon it, and by frequent burning, the grass becomes finer, and makes a very good hay for foddering cattle in the winter. This runs generally upon a level, and sometimes into large parcels of five hundred acres, and upwards; is free from wood, and is always well supplied with springs of water.

Swamps are of two sorts. — The Cypress. They are so called from that sort of tree growing in them; there, is excellent land when cleared, but being the lowest, is difficult to drain and cultivate, and must be a work of time and labor. And,

The Cane. These when cleared (which is done with ease) and cultivated, have a land which is extremely rich, being a black and greasy mould; and many things grow on it beyond imagination. Rice particularly thrives the best in these swamps.

The land is so far from being barren, or even bad, that the greatest part of it is fruitful and productive of almost every thing requisite for subsistence. And the experience already made by some in the colony, is the best proof how well people may subsist by their labor.

Besides the indigent from England, many foreign Protestants and Highlanders were sent to the colony; these being accustomed to hardship and labor, were not afraid of it in Georgia, and they live by it very comfortably. In the town of New Inverness in Darien, in the southern part of the Province, the Highlanders are settled; they at first applied themselves with success, to the raising of corn, and have since taken to feeding of cattle, as yielding a more immediate profit, on account of supplying General Oglethorpe's regiment, and the shipping with fresh beef. In the town of Ebenezer, situated in the northern part of the province, the Saltzburghers are planted. They are a sober and industrious people, and do at present reap the fruits of their * in-

* Appendix, No. 3.

dustry. They have great herds of cattle which are increasing; their land lies very neat, and is well cultivated. They raise large quantities of corn, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, cabbages, and other garden stuff. They not only raise sufficient for their own consumption, but are enabled to sell at the town of Savannah. They are so contented with their settlement, and so sensible of their happiness, that they are frequently sending to their own country invitations to their friends to go over to them, and have applied to the Trustees to send more transports of their countrymen to be settled with them.

The next objection is, 3. That no produces for trade can be raised in the colony.

And this is believed because no great entries have been seen of any yet in the custom house, though the charter was granted but in June, 1732, and the colony has, from its first establishment, labored under many unforeseen difficulties. Raw silk is the chief article which the Trustees had, and still have, in view. This is bought by Great Britain at present with ready money in Italy, at a vast price; and which notwithstanding that price, our merchants cannot get by any degree so much as is wanted for the few engines which we have for throwing. Nay, they are obliged to take much the greatest part as ready thrown, which carries still a higher price, to pay for the labor of foreigners. Though raw silk requires very little labor, it is obvious, that the raising any great quantity of it must depend upon a number of people, and of those chiefly who are of little use in other products, viz. women and children; and of whom the Trustees could not send many, men being the most necessary in the first establishment of a colony, especially on a frontier. In the raising of silk, even the aged and impotent are of use. Lord Bacon has mentioned it as one of the most profitable works a plantation can go upon. Mr. Joshua Gee, in his excellent treatise, called the *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered*, has expatiated upon the great advantages and probability of raising it in these parts of the continent.* Other authors have long ago given the same judgment. Sir Thomas Lombe delivered his opinion, "That it would be attended

* Virginia, more especially the south part thereof, rightly and truly stated, viz. Carolina, printed 1650. Virginia's discovery of silk worms with their benefit, 1650.

with as little hazard and difficulty; that it was as much wanted, and might as soon be brought to perfection, as any undertaking so considerable in itself, that he ever heard of." Besides these authorities, experience, (the best authority) has shewn the probability of success. Some silk (though indeed by the negligence of the people, and want of proper hands, but a little) has already been produced in Georgia. Enough, however, for a conviction, that it may in time be brought to such perfection, as may make the colony of the highest advantage to Great Britain. For if twenty pounds of it can be raised there, any greater quantity may likewise with a proper number of people. Some was brought over this year by one Mr. Samuel Auspourguer, who has made an *affidavit, that he saw the Italian family winding it off from the balls. It was viewed by Mr. Zachary, an eminent raw silk merchant, and Mr. Booth, one of our greatest weavers, who affirmed it to be as fine as any Italian silk, or any they would wish to use, and that it was worth at least twenty shillings a pound. The former gentleman's † opinion, may be seen in the Appendix.

Georgia being the most southward part of the English possessions upon that continent, is the most proper for this production. The warmer a country is, (if the heat is not too intense, and by bordering upon the sea, it is refreshed by pleasant gales of wind,) the stronger the worms are, they yield a better increase, and the silk has a better texture. For this reason Italy has the advantage over France, as the same quantity of eggs will produce there a double quantity of silk more than the most northern parts of France in which it is raised, and a proportionable difference is found between these and the most southern provinces.

The planter in Georgia has no obstacle in his way of this undertaking, but his impatience and diffidence. He has many advantages which the peasant in France and Italy wants. The country affords him timber for his fabrics at no expense, but of a little labor. It is found by experience, that the mulberry trees thrive in an extraordinary manner in Georgia, and these being his own, the profits from the worms are so too. He may build his house of what dimensions he likes best,

* Appendix No. 5.

† Appendix No. 5.

and may therefore have more rooms, and may make these more spacious and convenient for the nursery of his worms. Whereas in Languedoc, Provence, and likewise in many parts of Italy, the peasant has perhaps only a low-roofed cottage, with one or two rooms at the most for his family to sleep, dress their victuals, and keep their worms in ; and besides, he is obliged to purchase his mulberry leaves of the nobility and gentry, who receive a considerable part of their revenue from the sale of them. In many parts of Italy, for instance, the poor man gives a moiety of his profits to the rich, only for the leaves which he gathers on his grounds, which must be a great discouragement to him.

The production of silk will but little interfere with the other labors of the planter in Georgia. The whole business of it is completed within three months. A man with his son, or a servant, may, without much trouble, gather leaves sufficient for as many worms as he can keep. His wife and daughter, or a servant maid, may feed and attend the worms, as they are within doors. A Piedmontese family are settled in the colony only to instruct the people, and their children, in the care of the worms, and in the art of winding off the silk, which must be done early from the balls, as these are apt to decrease in their weight and value by being neglected any time. The planter will be sure of a ready, stated, and great price for this commodity : it will be brought to England at a less expense, and will have less to pay for freight than almost any other, as the bulk of it is so small in proportion to the value.

Mr. Gee supposes that even the Indians may be useful to us in this article of trade ; and to show this is not chimerical, he produces the examples of them both with the Spaniards and the French. * "If (says he) great numbers of mulberry trees were planted among the Indian nations bordering on our settlements, and some skilful, good tempered persons were employed to instruct them in the proper seasons for gathering leaves, and feeding the worms, and should reward them bountifully for their pains, those people might be brought to be very profitable subjects to this nation. The Spaniards, notwithstanding their pride, have found condescension enough to instruct the Indians under their jurisdiction,

* The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered, page 97.

to make them very serviceable in carrying on, and improving the manufactures of indigo, cochineal, and several others, to the great advantage of New Spain ; and the French in their settlements about the river St. Lawrence, the great lakes, and even to the Mississippi, take a great deal of pains to instruct them in every thing which they think may contribute to their mother country. If the Spaniards and French can draw these people to be serviceable, to them, I do not see it is impossible, if kindness, justice, and good nature were shewed them, but they might be brought to be very serviceable to us also." Upon the first establishing of Georgia, the Trustees, from the dictates both of humanity and prudence, endeavored to secure the friendship of the Indians. They were treated with all the candor and gentleness imaginable. They were made sensible, that the English had no intentions to distress or disturb, but would be ready to assist and protect them upon all occasions. They were assured of redress for any injuries offered them, upon their making complaints to the magistrates ; upon which in return they engaged never to take any revenge themselves, which might occasion misunderstanding between the English and them. And, as they have since found that justice has always been done them upon any complaint, they have been punctual in their engagements. They have shown an affection to the colony, and upon the first breaking out of the war with Spain, and ever since, they have been ready and earnest to defend it. They intermix with great freedom with our people, and two years ago, when a body of the Chickasaw Indians, who live at a distance from our settlements, came down to Savannah, they saw in one of the houses the silk worms feeding ; they were so delighted, that they went twice a day to observe them, and when they were told the use of them, they * said that if worms should be given them, they would engage to return a great quantity of balls of silk every year, for they had many mulberry trees in their nations.

Another article which shows a great probability of succeeding, is wine.† The vines grow wild in Georgia, and in great abundance ; they run up to the tops of oaks with fruit upon them. As, by the luxuriancy of their growth, the grapes are but indifferent, these will be improved by prun-

* Appendix, No. 6.

† Appendix No. 8.

ing, and a proper care of the vines ; and it has been found that the grafting upon these vines has been attended with success. The Portugal and other vines also, which have been transplanted thither, thrive in a very extraordinary manner. One Abraham de Lyon, a Portuguese Jew, in the year 1736, by encouragement from the Trustees, planted about a score, which he had received from Portugal, where he had been bred among the vineyards : in the next year, by his skill in pruning and dressing them, they bore plentifully a beautiful large grape, as big as a man's thumb, almost transparent, and in great bunches. A shoot, in one year, grew from the root of a bearing vine as big as a walking cane, and ran over a few poles placed to receive it, at least twelve or fourteen feet ; and he has now a very promising vineyard. If wine can be made in the colony, the advantages of it must be obvious to every one. This will not interfere with the products of our other plantations. Though therefore no more could be raised than to supply these, it would be a vast profit to Georgia as well as them. They might purchase it at a cheaper rate than they do from Spain and the Canaries. They would not be liable to be interrupted in the purchase of it in a time of war between us and the nations, which now supply them ; and the money, which they are to pay for it, will still remain among the subjects of Great Britain. But this product must be a work of time, and must depend upon an increase of the people.

Other beneficial articles for trade, which (it is found) can be raised there, are,

*Cochineal. The prickly pear shrubs, (upon which the fly feeds, from which is taken the cochineal,) are in abundance upon the islands in the southern part of the province ; and the fly has been taken upon them, which, being squeezed by some persons between their fingers, has dyed them with the fine red color which the cochineal gives.

Indigo, Olives and Oil.

Cotton, (of which some has been brought over as a sample,) and many drugs, viz. aloes, sassafras, sumach, snake-root, and several others, the shrubs of which grow wild and in great numbers.

The timber in the province is very fine. In the inland

part of the country, some of the trees grow so high, that they would furnish* masts for men-of-war; and near the sea, where the ground is more upon a level, there is a great quantity of excellent knee timber. The laurel, cedar, cypress, and bay-trees, grow in this part to the height and size of timber trees.

The fourth objection is: 4. That the lands were granted upon improper tenures and conditions.

In the infancy of the settlement, many regulations and restrictions were thought necessary; but these have since, for the ease of the people, been either relaxed or removed. One condition in particular was, that the lands, which were granted, should in failure of issue male, revert to the Trust. The females, however, were to have the value of the improvements, and in case of marriage, the lot was intended to be given to the husband of the eldest daughter, (which was always complied with upon application,) in case he was not possessed of any lot before. The design of this restriction was to keep up a number of men equal to the number of lots, for the defence and better improvement of the province, and to preserve a proper equality among them. But this condition has since been released, and the daughter of a freeholder, or any other person, is made capable of enjoying by inheritance a devise of lands, provided that it does not increase her or his possession, to more than two thousand acres.

Another proviso in the grants was, that no person should alien his land, or any part of it, or grant any term, estate, or interest therein to any other person, without a special license. This was to prevent the effects of usury, and people's running into debt, which might incite them to idleness; and to keep the lots entire and undivided, and prevent any person's engrossing too great a quantity of land. This proviso likewise has been released, and a general license has been granted, for all possessors of land in Georgia to make leases of any part of their lots, for any term not exceeding five years, to any person residing in Georgia, and who shall continue resident there during the term of such lease.

A third condition in the grants was, That if any of the lands should not be planted, cleared, or fenced, within the space of

* Appendix No. 2 and 8

ten years from the date of the grant, every part thereof, not planted, cleared, or fenced, should revert to the Trust. This was intended only to put the people under a necessity of being early, and industrious in their improvements. But however, to remove any apprehensions, which they might have of losing their lots, a general release has since been passed, by which no advantage is to be taken against any possessors of land in Georgia, for any forfeitures incurred at any time before midsummer 1740, in relation either to the tenure or cultivation of land; and a much longer time for cultivating is allowed on the easiest conditions, and such as were proposed by a gentleman of the province, on behalf of the freeholders.

The last and principal objection is, 5. That it will be impracticable to render the colony of any value, without the use of negroes.

This will require a more particular examination, as it has obtained a credit with many persons of understanding who have an affection for the colony. The reason, which has principally guided them in this belief, is, that our other colonies have not prohibited them, but find them necessary, and therefore they think there is no occasion for this singularity. It cannot, however, be doubted, but these persons will consider with attention the particular circumstances of this province, and the arguments which will be offered to show, that negroes are inconsistent with the constitution of it, needless for the produces which are to be raised there, and absolutely dangerous to Georgia in its present situation, as well as to the adjacent provinces.

The preamble to his Majesty's charter runs as follows:

"Whereas we are credibly informed, that many of our poor subjects are, through misfortunes, and want of employment, reduced to great necessities, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray the charge of passage, and other expenses incident to new settlements, they would be glad to be settled in any of our provinces in America, where by cultivating the lands at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase the trade, navigation, and wealth of these our realms.

"And whereas our provinces in north America have been

frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially that of South Carolina, which in the late war was laid waste with fire and sword ; and great number of the English inhabitants miserably massacred, and our loving subjects, who now inhabit there, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, will, in case of any new war, be exposed to the like calamity, inasmuch as their whole southern frontier continueth unsettled, and lieth open to the said savages.

“And whereas we think it highly becoming our crown and royal dignity to protect all our loving subjects, be they never so distant from us: To extend our fatherly compassion even to the meanest and most unfortunate of our people, and to relieve the wants of our above-mentioned poor subjects; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing these ends, that a regular colony of the said poor people be settled and established in the southern frontier of Carolina.

“Know ye,” &c.

By this Preamble it appears, that the chief purposes, for which the charter was granted, were a subsistence for those, who were indigent at home, and consequently a burden on the public; and making a barrier for South Carolina, which had suffered, and lay still exposed to danger by the smallness of the number of her English inhabitants.

If a great number of negroes could have made South Carolina secure, she would not have wanted such a barrier, for she is computed to have at least forty thousand blacks, whilst the white people are not above five thousand; and these (by the large portions of land being in the possession of but few persons) at too great a distance from one another for the public safety.

The greater number of blacks, which a frontier has, and the greater the disproportion is between them and her white people, the more danger she is liable to; for those are all secret enemies, and ready to join with her open ones upon the first occasion. So far from putting any confidence in them, her first step must be to secure herself against them.

Georgia therefore was designed to be a new frontier, and that she might be well stocked with white inhabitants, who by their property could only add a strength to it, his Majesty in the charter restrained the Trustees from granting more

than five hundred acres of land either entirely, or in parcels to, or for the use of, or in trust for any one person.

To each of the poor, who were sent from hence, and who were provided with every thing at the expense of the Trust, no more than fifty acres have hitherto been granted. This quantity, if well cultivated, would yield not only a comfortable, but handsome subsistence, but would not enable him to maintain a number of negroes.

In other colonies the planter being well stocked with them, can afford to purchase wives for his negroes, and their increase adds to his property. He can stay for the growth of their children before they are fit to labor; he can dispense with the mother's neglecting to work, while she attends her infants; but the white man in Georgia cannot be able to feed the negro, his wife, and the child or children, when perhaps the first is the only one from whom he receives any profit.

If it is thought that one male negro will be sufficient for each white man, the value of an unseasoned negro's life cannot be computed at more than seven years purchase. The price of a negro when delivered in America, is from twenty-five to thirty pounds sterling; at whose expense then must the first and continued cost of them be? If, at the expense of the Trust, there would be no end of it; for the white man would be more careless of his negro, and if he should want at any time an immediate supply for any necessities, he would sell his slave, at perhaps half the value to a purchaser in South Carolina, then pretend he had run away from him, and would demand a new one. This would require such a supply from the public, as might justly occasion great murmuring, even though the parliament should condescend to grant it. If the negro is to be purchased at the expense of the planter, when and how will he be enabled to pay for him? He sets out poor, and unprovided of every thing, but land and tools; with a family which will require some time to gain a subsistence for; if then he cannot lay down the purchase money, he must take him upon credit from the negro merchant, to satisfy whom, he must make over the profits of his labor, by which he will become dispirited; or he must mortgage his land, by which the country will soon lose many of her inhabitants. In our other colonies the plantations are made by persons who set out with a sufficient stock of wealth to purchase a number of

slaves, and who can afford to keep white servants to inspect their labor, and force them to it. But let it be supposed, that the poor man in Georgia can be able, after some time, to purchase two negroes; he cannot maintain however a white servant merely to inspect them; his whole time must be employed in watching them, in order to oblige them to work, to prevent their running away, or to secure himself and his family from danger against them; consequently the province will reap no benefit from his own labor; and if he finds them idle, he will be afraid to correct them, when he knows how easily they may overpower him. If he has but one negro, he will have little profit from his service; for he must be under the same obligation, and be always at hand to watch him for his own security, and force him to work. Perhaps it is imagined, that by gentle usage the negro may be made a trusty servant; this cannot be depended on. Every man is naturally fond of liberty, and he will struggle for it when he knows his own strength, when he sees this is equal, at least very inferior to his master's. But let it be granted, that the white man is not under a necessity of watching his slaves; he will think it hard however to be obliged to work as much himself, and will contract an unwillingness to do it; so that as he at most can maintain but one or two, the labor of the black may be gained, but that of the white will on the other hand be lost.

Nine parts in ten of the inhabitants of the province are freeholders of only fifty acre lots. As therefore, by the inability of the planter, and the smallness of his plantation, the number of negroes cannot be much greater than the number of white men; the want of them is much better supplied by servants from Germany, and other places in Europe. These serve for a term of years, and then are entitled to lots themselves, upon a certificate from their master of their good behavior. The planter pays nothing when he first receives one of these servants, but for the passage of him. His whole expense consists in his food, (which likewise the negro must have,) and in some few clothes, which need not be costly. The master can have a greater confidence in them, than he can possibly have in his slaves. The servants will have no temptation to run away; from the hopes of a property they will be more industrious, and when they attain this, each man of them adds a strength to the colony.

Besides, the produces, which are to be raised in Georgia, do not require the labor of negroes. In other plantations these are necessary. Sugar, rice, and tobacco are works of hardship and fatigue; and perhaps it would be impossible to get white people from any parts of Europe, who would sustain the labor of them. But silk, cotton, cochineal, and the other designed produces of the colony, stand only in need of a careful and tender management. They are works rather of nicety than labor, especially where the culture of the land is so easy. The making of wine will perhaps be the work of the greatest fatigue, and yet we see by France, Portugal, and other parts of Europe, that it requires no negroes to carry it on.

It may probably be said, as Carolina admits negroes, if Georgia does not, the former by having so much greater a number of people, will soon be able to raise much more silk than her younger sister. To this it is answered, if she should undertake it upon the prospect of its success in Georgia, Georgia would lose nothing by it, and Great Britain would reap the advantages of the emulation, who could take off a greater quantity of raw silk than both those colonies could produce, and without interfering with the importation of it, either from China, or Turkey, this last especially being of a different sort, and for different uses. Therefore though Carolina might exceed Georgia in the quantity raised, this last however would be sure of a market for hers also; and although the province might not in general be so rich, every private man in it would reap a sufficient profit.

It is lastly to be considered, how much negroes would affect the safety of the province in general, and the individual inhabitants of it, as being so much nearer to the Spaniards. South Carolina, though at a greater distance, has often and lately found by experience that the Spaniards at Augustine will, even in time of peace, invite her negroes to them, with promises of liberty, and encouragement by giving them tracts of land to cultivate for their own use. The introduction of negroes into Georgia would therefore furnish a constant subject of contention, and would perpetually endanger the peace (when subsisting) between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain: for our court could not but resent their enticing away and protecting our slaves; and the court of Spain would pretend it to be extremely difficult, if not

impossible, to prevent their people at Augustine doing it. Then in a time of war, as at present, or upon the least appearance of one, the Spaniards would, as they have lately done in South Carolina, use all their arts, and neglect no promises to draw them off. And the negroes would undoubtedly fly from a certain slavery, to liberty, and a better treatment. What therefore does the planter in Georgia do by purchasing a negro? He lays himself under difficulties to raise the means of doing it; and when he has got him, he cannot be sure of his continuance with him for a day, and at his own expense he strengthens the enemy.

If a wealthy planter in other colonies loses a slave, he loses only the cost of him, as he can easily purchase another; but the poor man in Georgia, would lose, with his slave, his whole strength, and the work of his plantation would be at a stand, as it likewise would upon the death, or even sickness of the negro; and when the planter dies himself, if he leaves a widow with perhaps two or three small children, their danger must be very great from the negro; they not only have no power to prevent his flying away, but have no security for their own lives against him, being in a manner absolutely at his mercy.

It has been lately seen in Jamaica, and Antigua, how apt the slaves are to rise against their masters, upon every opportunity; yet they had no foreign power to receive and protect them. All they could have in view was, either to conquer or die, or betake themselves to the woods, where they must live in continual warfare with the white people. Before they could effect this, their design must be general, and must be communicated to so many, as would make it improbable to be kept secret. But in Georgia, where there is only a river to pass, the negro may run away with safety, without discovering his mind to any others, if his master leaves his plantation but half a day, nay if he does not watch or secure him even in the night.

It may perhaps be said, that the insurrection of negroes in Jamaica and Antigua have been owing to the disproportion of their numbers, which is more than will be necessary in Georgia: to which is replied, if there is not a much greater number of negroes than of white men in Georgia, the end in having them will not be answered, and if there is, there can be no safety for this province, where even an equality of them would make them dangerous.

It may likewise be said, if you do not permit the poor man to have negroes, since he has nobody else to look after them, for an encouragement however of people, who have some fortune, to go and settle there, allow them to the gentlemen, who take up two hundred, three hundred, or five hundred acres, and who can afford white servants to take care of them. But this would soon destroy the labor of the industrious white people, for whom the colony was principally intended. For can it be supposed, that the poor planter will be contented, even on his own lot, to work in the same manner, in which slaves are employed on others? Will not he be importunate with the Trustees to provide negroes likewise for him? And when they will not, (as they certainly cannot) will he not think himself hardly dealt with? repine and complain, that he leads the life of a negro? then grow dispirited, and be more disposed to forsake the province?

The most industrious people in the colony, are so sensible of the inconveniences and dangers to which they should be exposed by the introduction of negroes, that they have petitioned against them, particularly the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer, and the Highlanders at New Inverness in Darien.

The inhabitants likewise of Frederica (the chief town in the southern part of the province) upon an application for negroes from some in the northern part, (who were less exposed to the Spaniards) prepared a petition against them, but desisted from sending it, upon an assurance that their apprehensions of the introduction of negroes were entirely needless.

South Carolina has already experienced the benefit of Georgia's not admitting slaves, and perhaps is indebted to this for her preservation at present. If a negro is seen in Georgia, he is immediately known to be a runaway; and by an act, approved of by his Majesty in council in April, 1735, for rendering the colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the importation and use of negroes, every one, who is found in Georgia, is apprehended, and if the owner in South Carolina claims him within three months, the court of the town of Savannah is ordered to restore him. This has probably prevented at this critical juncture, a desertion of the greatest part of the South Carolina negroes. The Spanish emissaries have these three or four years past been busy in this province, inciting them to rise, and enticing them away.

Several insurrections followed thereupon ; which, though suppressed with the death of many of the inhabitants, as well as of the blacks, hindered not the escape of some of these ; but they were few, they could only go off in pettiaugas and other little boats by sea ; the way by land was shut against them, as they knew they should be secured in Georgia ; whereas if negroes had been here also, it would not have been easy to distinguish them, and the Carolina slaves would have found a readier and safer way to Augustine. With this prospect they would have been more generally tempted to rise, from which the difficulty of getting off undoubtedly deterred many of them. In January, 1738, the council, and assembly of South Carolina sent a solemn deputation to Augustine, to demand those, who had escaped by sea ; but they returned without success ; the Spanish governor peremptorily refused to deliver them, and declared that he had orders from the king of Spain to receive and protect them.

In the beginning of last June, there was a conspiracy and insurrection of above two hundred negroes, not far from Charlestown. As they had no prospect of escaping through the Province of Georgia, their design was to break open a store-house, and supply themselves, and those who would join them, with arms. The conspiracy was happily discovered the night before it was to be put in execution, and when they appeared the next day fifty of them were seized, and these were hanged, ten in a day, to intimidate the other negroes.

From these several considerations, it is submitted to the public, whether Georgia does not stand in a different point of light from any of our other colonies ; and whether the admission of negroes is necessary or expedient ; or whether on the contrary, it would not be injurious to the greater number of inhabitants, and hazardous for them all.

It may be proper now to shew in one or two instances, where the colony has been, and will be of great advantage to the public. If people are still credulous of every clamor, and incredulous of, and unattentive to the evidence, that products for trade can be raised in Georgia ; or if they are too narrow-sighted to be pleased with the distance of the prospect ; yet they must see, that the inhabitants can subsist there. Consequently there is room for increasing the number of our people, by carrying over more Saltzburghers,

and other persecuted or distressed foreign protestants. These can be carried thither, and settled at a less expense than the former, who have gone as harbingers, and provided a settlement, and easier means of subsistence for them. By these, and by the Highlanders from Scotland, (even if no more of our poor people from England should be sent) one great end of his majesty's charter is obtained. A barrier is fixed, and will be strengthening, for the southern provinces on the continent; and these may more securely proceed in their cultivation. South Carolina has in this particular some time since found the advantages of this barrier; for the most southward parts, before the establishment of Georgia, were so unsafe that people were afraid to make any settlements on them; but soon after, many thousand acres of rich land near Port Royal were run out, the land was raised to four times the former value, and the exportation of rice from that province was vastly increased. The public have seen, that Carolina has likewise been free from the ravages or attacks of the Indians, to which she was always liable before, and by which she so frequently suffered. In this view, therefore, of a barrier, abstracting the hopes of any improvements in our trade, Georgia has always been a national benefit.

The last point in which Georgia is to be considered, is with regard to the goodness of her harbors; and in this light she will prove of the highest importance to Great Britain. Spain has seen her in this light, and has therefore been so restless to gain her. From the badness of the harbor at Augustine, which is in a manner choked up, and cannot receive any ships of above a hundred tons, she is more sensible of what consequence it is to Great Britain to have good ones in Georgia. She knows that if a British fleet can ride there in safety, in a wholesome air, and daily supplied with fresh provisions, they may be a constant check on the galleons, and her homeward bound trade, in their course from the gulf of Florida; and may amply retaliate all the injuries which she does us on the other side of the gulf. For this reason the Spaniards at Augustine, when they first complained of Georgia, called it a Gibraltar in America. There is a *harbor in thirty-one degrees in the southward part of

* Appendix, No. 8.

the province between St. Simon's island and Jekyl's island, which is capable of holding twelve men-of-war in the greatest security. The harbor is land-locked, and the entrance into it is free from any rocks or shoals; and on the bar there is a depth of water of twenty-two feet, so that a forty gun ship may pass very well over it, and the ships in the harbor lie under the cannon of St. Simon's fort. The river, which runs by the harbor, is so large and deep, that it is capable of receiving any number of ships which England can send thither; and where, being land-locked also, they may ride in great safety. In Cumberland sound, which is southward of Jekyl, and lies between the islands of Cumberland and Amelia, it is said, that there is still deeper water than in Jekyl sound; but as no affidavits have been made in relation to this, and as the captains, who sounded the entrance into Jekyl, never went so far, I shall not dwell upon it, being unwilling to deliver any thing upon uncertainty. In the northern part of the province, upon the bar at Tybee sound, at the mouth of the river Savannah, there is a depth of fifteen feet at low water, and twenty-two at high water; and the river Savannah communicating with it, will contain in safety, four hundred ships in smooth water. The entrance is so safe, that ships of four hundred tons, without altering their course, may run directly from the sea over the bar.

The whole coast of Georgia is secure for navigation, there being seven or eight fathom water within three or four leagues from the land, where ships, if necessity requires, may anchor with the greatest safety, the ground being all clean sand from one end of the coast to the other.

A report has prevailed, that the colony is abandoned; and this has been propagated chiefly by those who have quitted it. It is undoubtedly true, that some in the northern division of the province have left it; but it is as true, that great numbers are still remaining, and that few or none of those, who were settled in the southern part of the province have left their plantations. Among the necessitous, who first applied to be sent over, there were some who had been reduced merely by misfortunes, but still unused to labor; and many by idleness who were as little accustomed to it. It was almost impossible to distinguish between them. The Trustees could only proceed in their choice, upon recommendations of them or their appearance, as great objects of charity. But

the idle, who fled from labor in England, would as certainly fly from it in Georgia. A store was kept open for the subsistence of the people, much longer than was either promised or intended. This was done upon several considerations, viz. a dearth, which happened one year through almost all the continent of America; the interruptions given to the inhabitants by the attempts of the Spaniards; compassion in general to the settlers, and for an encouragement of them to be industrious for the future. But when it was found absolutely requisite to shut up the store, of which the people had been long forewarned; those who had fixed their thoughts and means of subsistence only there, and found themselves unprovided, immediately left the province; a few also, upon an appearance of a war with Spain, deserted their settlements, in order to be more remote from danger. There were some people likewise, in the first settling of the colony, who came from other American provinces to seek for work. These, finding but little business, after the public, and most of the private buildings were finished, returned, as is supposed, to their own homes.

By authentic accounts transmitted from William Stephens, Esq., (who has resided in Georgia these three years, as Secretary for the affairs of the Trust within the province,) and received the 26th of last November, it appears, that the strength of the northern division of the province, has not for a year past, been impaired by the going away of laborious men, particularly of freeholders; the absence of some, whose idleness or fear of the Spaniards obliged them to withdraw, being supplied by others more industrious. And that of those who had quitted it, with expectation of a better support in South Carolina, some have returned again, and that two families more intended the same. Nay, even so late as the 28th of July last, when the news of raising the siege of Augustine had been a fortnight in the town of Savannah, notwithstanding endeavors were used to work up a panic among the people, and though permits to leave the colony were given to any who should ask them, three men only had quitted the province; and of these, one was superannuated, and went to a relation in Charlestown to be supported. The other two were Jews, who had no visible way of living. It was found likewise, that among the freeholders in that town, notwithstanding many had gone as volunteers to the camp, there

were about seventy, who were able and willing to act for defence of the colony, exclusive of servants, inmates, &c. who were above double that number, and without taking notice of the plantations, and the adjacent villages and of the town of Ebenezer in particular, which alone could furnish sixty able men of the Saltzburghers.

Though beginning a settlement with indigent people is commonly disadvantageous, for reasons before mentioned; the sending over others of them in small numbers after the settlement is made, may not, and probably will not be attended with the same inconveniences. When they see a society formed, and a government ready established, at which they cannot have a shadow of reason to repine: when they see others, who had been in the same condition with themselves, living happily upon the fruits of their industry, and have evident and ocular proofs, that they may soon arrive at the same; and when they will not have numbers to countenance them in their idleness, they will in all likelihood be more incited to labor.

The following short account of the state of the province, will (it is hoped) satisfy the public, that, though some have deserted it, it is not in that miserable condition, which some have taken pains to represent it.

About ten miles up the river, the town of Savannah is situated upon a bluff of land, about forty feet perpendicular from the water. The land about it, and on which it stands, is sandy, and after the hardest rains immediately dry, and therefore healthy, and fit for habitations. The water about the town is excellent. The town is regularly built, with a large street through it from the landing-place. There are at least one hundred and thirty houses in it, (besides warehouses and huts,) which are built at some distance from each other, to prevent the spreading of any fire, and to keep them more airy. These form several wide streets, and spacious squares. The town is divided into six wards, and every ward into three tithings, with a constable and three tithingmen appointed for each ward. It is governed by three bailiffs, and a recorder, who are the magistrates, and have full power to judge in matters of civil right, as well as capital offences in the northern part of the province. There are in the town, a court house, a gaol, a store-house, a house for the Trust servants, a wharf, a guard-house, and some

other public buildings. There is likewise a public garden, which was designed as a nursery for raising trees and plants to be delivered out to the people for their plantations, viz. : mulberry trees, oranges, olives, vines, peaches, apples, pears, plums, &c. By the negligence of former gardeners, these had met with very ill treatment ; but by the care of some Italian gardeners last year, they recovered from it, and the garden is now in a thriving condition. The town of Savannah is conveniently situated for trade, as the navigation of the river is very good, and runs several hundred miles up into the country, and ships of three hundred tons may lie close to the town, where the worm does not eat into them.

About six miles distance from Savannah up the river are several considerable plantations, and at fifteen miles is a village called Abercorn. Ten miles above that, on the Carolina side of the river, is the town of Puryburgh, which is a settlement of Swiss, formed in the same year that Georgia was established. Fifteen miles from Puryburgh, on the Georgia side, is Ebenezer, where the Saltzburghers are situated ; their houses are neat, and regularly set out in streets, and the whole economy of their town, under the influence of their ministers, Messieurs Bolzius and Gronau, is very exemplary. For the benefit of their milch cattle, a herdsman is appointed to attend them in the woods all the day, and bring them home in the evening. Their stock of outlying cattle is also under the care of two other herdsmen, who attend them in their feeding in the day, and drive them into cow pens in the night. This secures the owners from any loss, and the herdsmen are paid by a small contribution among the people. These are very industrious, and subsist comfortably by their labor. Though there is no regular court of justice, as they live in sobriety, they maintain great order and decency. In case of any differences, the minister calls three or four of the most prudent elders together, who in a summary way hear and determine as they think just, and the parties always acquiesce with content in their judgment. They are very regular in their public worship, which is on week days in the evening after their work ; and in the forenoon and evening on Sundays. They have built a large and convenient house for the reception of orphans, and other poor children, who are maintained by benefactions among the people, are well taken care of, and taught to work, ac-

ording as their age and ability will permit. The number computed by Mr. Bolzius in June 1738, whereof his congregation consisted, was one hundred and forty-six, and some more have since been settled among them. They are all in general so well pleased with their condition, that not one of their people has abandoned the settlement.

At some distance from hence is a place called Old Ebenezer, upon a river which runs into the Savannah. Here the Saltzburghers were at first settled, and there are now some plantations of German families, as also a cow pen in which the Trust have a great number of cattle for the use of the public, and for breeding.

Beyond Ebenezer are several settlements of Uchee Indians, on both sides of the river Savannah, who have raised a quantity of corn.

At a considerable distance from hence is a town called Augusta; it is two hundred and thirty-six miles by water from the mouth of Savannah river, and large boats are navigated from hence to the town of Savannah. It was laid out in the beginning of the year 1736, and thrives prodigiously. It is the chief place of trade with the Indians. There are several ware houses in it well furnished with goods for the Indian trade; and the last year the people raised there above six thousand bushels of Indian corn, besides some wheat for their own use, which was very good. There are five large boats which belong to different inhabitants of the town, and carry about nine thousand weight of deer skins each; and last year about one hundred thousand weight of skins was brought from thence. All the Indian traders from both provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, resort thither in the spring. In June, 1739, the traders, pack-horse-men, servants, townsmen, and others depending upon that business, made about six hundred whites, who live by the trade in the Indian nation. Each Indian hunter is reckoned to get three hundred weight of deer skins in a year, which is a very advantageous trade to England, for the deer skins, beaver, and other furs, are chiefly paid for in woolen goods and Iron.

At Augusta the Trustees have hitherto maintained a little garrison, in a fort which they built: and the security which the traders receive from this fort is their inducement to go there. The town stands upon a high ground, upon the side of the river. A road has been marked out from thence to

Old Ebenezer, so that horsemen can now ride from the town of Savannah to Augusta, as likewise to the Cherokee Indians, who are situated above Augusta to the north-west, and on the Georgia side of the river, in the valleys of the Appalachian mountains. The Cherokees have now between four and five thousand warriors. The French have been using their utmost endeavors to gain or destroy them: but as the town of Augusta so easily furnishes them with arms, ammunition, and necessaries, the French have not been able to get any ground among them. The Creek Indians live to the westward of Augusta, their chief town is the Cowetas, at two hundred miles distance. The lower Creeks consist of about a thousand, and the upper Creeks of about seven hundred fighting men; upon the edge of whose country the French fort of Albasas lies. They are all sincerely attached to the English interest, and they express the greatest gratitude upon all occasions, for the kind reception which their chiefs met with in England, and for the justice with which all the Indians are treated in Georgia. Beyond the Creeks, lie the Chickasaws, who are a very brave people: they inhabit near the Mississippi river, and possess the banks of it: they are likewise great friends of the English, and have resisted both the bribes and arms of the French. Some Georgia traders live among them. Ten towns also of the Choctaws, who were formerly in alliance with the French, trade with the people of Georgia.

Besides the settlements upon the river Savannah, there are several plantations to the southward of the town, as well as the little villages of Highgate and Hampstead, which lie about four miles distant from it. Some of these settlements extend as far as the narrow passages near Ogeechee, which is an inland river. At the narrow passages is Fort Argyle, in a situation that commands all the province. This was built in the year 1733. It is a large, strong palisade, eleven feet high, with flankers and loop-holes for small cannon at the angles. Beyond this, in the southern part of the province, is the town of New Inverness, in the district of Darien. Here the Highlanders are settled. They raised, at first, a considerable quantity of corn. They feed, (as has been said before) great numbers of cattle, and have many good sawyers, who make an advantageous trade of lumber. Their buildings are chiefly huts, but tight and warm. They have

a minister, who has an allowance from the incorporated society in Scotland, and are a sober and laborious people. They have also a fort below the town.

About twenty miles from hence is Frederica, on the island of St. Simon's, which is near the sea upon a branch of the Alatomaha river. There are many good buildings in the town, several of which are brick. There is likewise a fort and store-house belonging to the Trust. The people have a minister who has a salary from the Society for Propagating the Gospel. In the neighborhood of the town, there is a fine meadow of three hundred and twenty acres ditched in, on which a number of cattle are fed, and good hay is likewise made from it. At some distance from the town is the camp for General Oglethorpe's regiment: the country about it is well cultivated, several parcels of land not far distant from the camp having been granted in small lots to the soldiers, many of whom are married, and fifty-five children were born there in the last year. These soldiers are the most industrious, and willing to plant; the rest are generally desirous of wives, but there are not women enough in the country to supply them. There are some handsome houses built by the officers of the regiment, and besides the town of Frederica, there are other little villages upon this island. A sufficient quantity of pot herbs, pulse and fruit is produced there to supply both the town and garrison; and the people of Frederica have begun to malt and to brew; and the soldiers' wives spin cotton of the country, which they knit into stockings. At the town of Frederica is a town court for administering justice in the southern part of the province, with the same number of magistrates as at Savannah.

Beyond St. Simon's is Jekyl island, where there is but little good land. Captain Horton, an officer of the regiment, however, who has a lot upon this island, has made great improvements on it.

Southward of Jekyl lies the island of Cumberland, upon which is a strong fort called St. Andrews, built in the year 1736: it is situated upon a fine commanding ground. Two companies of the regiment are stationed here, and the soldiers, who have wives, have had lots granted them; which they have improved very much. They have made a little village called Barrimacké, where are about twenty-four families with good huts.

Beyond St. Andrews to the south, is the island of Amelia, where the orange trees grow wild in the woods. Upon this island are stationed the Trust Highland servants, with their scout boats. They have a very good plantation, and raised corn enough last year for their own consumption. A little fort is built here, and has a sergeant's guard. Upon this island, as well as Cumberland, there is a stud of horses and mares, and the colts out of them are very good ones, and are bred without any expense.

Beyond Amelia's is St. George's, which was quitted in the year 1736 by agreement with the Spaniards; and at a little distance from this is St. Juan's, where the Spaniards had two forts, which were taken last year; and between forty and fifty miles distance from St. Juan's is Augustine.

To sum up in short the present situation of the colony. The Trust is in possession, in behalf of his Majesty from the garrison of the Okfuskees in the Upper Creek nation (which they settled six years ago) down to the Gulf of Mexico by the Appellachees, and from thence to Amelia. The garrison of the Okfuskees is near four hundred miles from the sea, and a mark of possession within forty miles of the French fort. The commanding officer there, keeps up the English interest with the Indians, and the French cannot encroach further without hostilities. The sea coast lies from Amelia, which is in thirty degrees, thirty minutes to the mouth of Savannah, which is in thirty-two degrees and is a degree and a half upon the globe, but is computed by the boatmen who row it, to be near two hundred miles by water.

The Creek Indians, though they acknowledge the King of Great Britain for their sovereign, made war with the people of South Carolina, to obtain satisfaction for injuries done them by their traders. The war concluded by a peace, which obliged the people of Carolina not to settle southward of the river Savannah, and no Englishmen was settled within this district, when the first colony of Georgia arrived. But the Creek Indians have since, by agreement, conceded the limits mentioned above. In this province, which eight years ago was covered with woods, there are four towns and other settlements. It is almost every part of it fit for pasture; there is a good stock of cattle, and it discovers a great deal of rich land fit for agriculture.

Besides what the land yields for subsistence, and the tame

cattle, which multiply very fast, there are in the province abundance of deer and buffaloes. There is a vast plenty of almost all kinds of wild fowl. And the rivers abound with a great variety of fine fish, and particularly sturgeon, which may prove a beneficial trade. And in the coast upon the sea are oysters, and many other sorts of shell fish. There are found likewise in hollow trees large quantities of excellent honey.

As the government, in the beginning of our present disputes with the court of Spain, asserted the nation's right to the possession of this province; it may be some satisfaction to the reader to see this stated, which I shall endeavor to do in a few lines. Besides the concession of it by the Indians, who are the native proprietors of it, Great Britain has the right by the first discovery.

This was made by Sebastian Cabot, under the authority of letters patent from Henry the VIIth, dated 5, 1495. In the year 1496 he coasted by the shore of the continent so far, that he had the island of Cuba on his left hand, as is particularly described in the *Decades of the Ocean*, written by Peter Martyr, (a famous Spanish Historian) and dedicated to the King of Spain, in the year 1516.

This discovery is testified, not only by our own historians, but likewise by other Spanish writers, as Oviedo, Herrera, and Gomara, and also by Ramusius, Secretary to the Republic of Venice.

In the year 1516, Henry the VIIIth sent Sebastian Cabot a second time with Sir Thomas Port, Vice Admiral of England to coast the continent and take possession thereof: and by virtue of this discovery and possession, the Kings of England have from time to time exercised their right to the lands, by granting particular portions thereof by their letters patent; some of which are as follow, viz.:

June 11, 1578, Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphry Gilbert.

March 25, 1584, Queen Elizabeth to Walter Raleigh, Esq., who with Sir Francis Drake, in the next year, in time of war with Spain, drove the Spaniards from Fort St. John, and the city of Augustine, (where they had lately settled) and thereby maintained the English rights even to Augustine itself.

On the 30th of October, 1629, King Charles the 1st, by his letters patent to Sir Robert Heath, (then Attorney Gen-

eral) and to his heirs and assigns, forever granted the rivers Matheo and Passamagno, and all the lands between the said rivers, (the first of which is in thirty degrees, and the last in thirty-six degrees of north latitude) and erected the same into a province, called Carolina.

On the 24th of March, 1662, King Charles the II^d, by his letters patent to Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkely, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Baronet, Sir William Berkely, and Sir John Colleton, their heirs and assigns forever, granted all that territory or tract of land within his dominions in America, not then cultivated or planted, extending from the north end of that island called Lucke Island, which lies in the Southern Virginia seas, and within thirty-six degrees of northern latitude; and to the west as far as the South Seas; and so southerly as far as the river St. Mathias, which borders upon the coast of Florida, and within thirty-one degrees of north latitude; and so west in a direct line, as far as the South Seas aforesaid; and made them the true and absolute lords and proprietors thereof. And by the said letters patent erected the same into a province, and called it Carolina.

On the 30th of June, 1665, King Charles the II^d., at the request of the Lords Proprietors, extended the said province to the degree of 29, inclusive, north latitude, from the degree of 36 and 30 minutes, north latitude, and annexed and united the said enlarged territory to the said province.

The river Matheo, or St. Mathias, which is part of the grant of king Charles the Ist, and of the first grant of king Charles the II^d., is the *same that is now commonly called St. Juan's, where the two Spanish forts were built which were taken last year; consequently the Spaniards, so far from having a just claim to any part of Georgia, are to be looked on as encroachers upon the English dominions; and the spirit of Great Britain is properly exerted in maintaining her own rights, and checking their pretensions.

If there are any persons of opinion that Georgia is not worth the further care of Great Britain, and that no more supports should be granted for it; the following short considerations are recommended to them. It is notorious that

* Appendix, No. 9.

before the commencement of the war, Spain did claim this province, and that she had made preparations to take it by force; and for effectually carrying on her designs, she endeavored privately to stir up insurrections among the negroes in South Carolina, and openly granted them protection. It is likewise well known, that France has a longing eye on some place on this side of the continent; that she has at different times, used all her arts to gain, and power to destroy those Indians in alliance with us, and who have been a sort of barrier against them. If therefore Georgia should be abandoned or neglected, and if either of those nations should become possessed of it, how troublesome, how dangerous, nay how ruinous must the neighborhood be to Carolina, and the adjacent settlements? If likewise the Indians should think that Great Britain could not, or see that she would not assert and support her own possessions, how much more apt would they be to enter into friendship with those of whom they must have a better opinion? And how much more disposed, on any provocation, to disturb, insult, and even ravage our other plantations?

N. B. Since the greatest part of this *Inquiry* was printed, an account was received from Georgia on the 13th of this month of December, that some persons, who have been the chief instruments in working up among the people, a contempt of the magistracy, a repugnance to any improvements, apprehensions of immediate danger from the Spaniards, and a general dislike to the colony, have lately gone from thence; and that some, who had fled into other provinces, are now complaining that they find a greater difficulty of subsisting, than in Georgia, and are repenting, that they had been seduced to leave it.

To show still further, that the province is in a better condition than has been represented, extracts of a letter, received by a private person, Mr. John Lyde, from Mr. Thomas Jones, a friend of his in Georgia, dated so late as the 18th of last September, are added in the *Appendix.

* Appendix, No. 9.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

The Deposition of Lieutenant Raymond Demaré, taken by Francis Moore, Recorder of Frederica in Georgia, the 19th day of January, 1738—9.

THIS deponent says, That he arrived here on the first day of June, 1738, with a detachment of the regiment, and continued with the same to the arrival of the second detachment in September last; and that all the soldiers that came over with him, were in their turn employed to work in the sun and air in building huts, burning lime, carrying clapboards, and going into the water up to their necks to unload boats; and that they usually worked from five in the morning till between eleven and twelve; and began again about half an hour after one, and worked till night: and some also worked in clearing the ground from roots of trees, &c. for a parade; and during all the said term, the men continued very healthy, not one man dying, except an old man, who came sick on board at Gibraltar, and who never worked. This deponent says, that during the whole time he never knew any man desire to be excused from labor on account of the heat; and that the recruits who came from England, were more employed than the old men who came from Gibraltar. This deponent further says, that he was ten years with my Lord Harrington in Spain, and that he often felt the weather hotter there than in Georgia; and that the peasants in Spain perform all the works of husbandry without the assistance of negroes.

RAYMOND DEMARE.

The Deposition of Mr. Hugh Mackay, taken by Francis Moore, Recorder of Frederica in Georgia, the 19th day of January, 1738—9.

This deponent declares upon oath, that he had the charge of seventeen of the Trustees' servants for the term of two years. The said servants worked very hard, and that they never lay by in summer, by reason of the heat of the weather. That they the last summer worked in the open air and sun, in felling of trees, cross-cutting and splitting of timber, and carrying it on their shoulders, when split, from the woods to the camp, and in building houses for the King's troops. And this deponent further says, that the said servants worked willingly and cheerfully, and continued in good health; and that the said labor did not occasion any illness amongst them: and that when he left them about eight days ago, they were then all in good health, except one who was drowned by accident.

HUGH MACKAY.

There are other affidavits to the same purpose.

No. 2.

Deposition of John Cuthbert, taken upon oath before Francis Moore, Recorder of Frederica in Georgia.

This deponent says that he planted three crops in Georgia and verily believes that a white servant may in six months of the year, after the land is cleared, raise as much corn, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, &c. as will be more than sufficient for his provisions and clothing: and in the other six months, may be employed on lumber; at which, by this deponent's experience, a white servant can at least earn two shillings sterling per diem: also that hogs, cattle and poultry, if taken care of, increase at a great rate, and with little expense.

JOHN CUTHBERT.

Philip Delegal the elder, of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, lieutenant in Captain Hugh Mackay's company of the regiment of foot in Georgia in America, aged fifty-five years and upwards, maketh oath, and saith, that he hath been in Carolina and

Georgia for about fourteen years last past; and saith, that the climate of Georgia is very healthy, by reason of the great number of rivers and streams of running waters within that province, and by reason of the fresh breezes from the sea, which blow in the middle of the hottest days. And further saith, that the soil of Georgia consists of four different sorts of land, the one of which is called pine-barren, (a sandy earth, which bears pine-trees,) another oak and hickory, or mixt land (being of a strong nature fit for grain,) the 3d, swamps, whereon grow very large and high trees; and the 4th, savannahs, whereon grow canes and grass, where the cattle feed: and that there is a good proportion in the whole province of the said different sorts of the soil. And this deponent saith, that both the black and white mulberry trees grow wild in Georgia, and are more or less in every plantation. That vines grow also wild there; and that about twenty miles up the country from St. Simon's, the trees for masts for shipping grow very tall. And this deponent saith, that the islands in Georgia are full of the prickly pear shrubs, which feed flies; and that taking the flies off though green upon the shrub, and squeezing them, they dye the fingers with a deep red, which even with soap cannot easily be washed off, which this deponent verily believes to be the cochineal fly. And this deponent saith, that in the beginning of the year 1737, on the late alarms of the Spaniards, and before the independent company was incorporated into the regiment, he made an intrenchment, and fortified towards the sea the south-east point of St. Simon's island about ten miles from Frederica, with gabions filled with sandy earth; between which thirteen pieces of ordnance were placed. And this deponent saith, there is an house palisadoed with a battery of cannon at Amelia, by way of look-out, where a scout boat is stationed. And further saith, that in the year 1736, in the west part of Cumberland island, St. Andrew's fort was erected. And that in the same year another fort was built at Frederica, consisting of a strong mud wall, with frizes all round, a square with four regular bastions, and a spur work towards the river, and a dry fossé pallisadoed on the outside, and stockaded in the inside, defended by cannon, and other ordnance. And that in the same year another fort was erected at Darien, consisting of two bastions, and two half bastions, which is so strong, that thirty or forty

men are sufficient to maintain it against three hundred ; and that it is also defended by several pieces of ordnance. And when this deponent left Gergia to look after further military preferment, for his long and faithful services, which was in June 1739, the said forts were all in a defensible condition. And this deponent saith, that three companies of General Oglethorpe's regiment are in quarters in a corner of St. Simon's Island, near which the soldiers, by joint labor, (when not on military duty) clear and plant the lands set out for them. And this deponent lastly saith, that the province of Georgia is the barrier and greatest security to Carolina, and the other northern provinces in America, and of the greatest importance to the British nation ; and that the produces which may be expected therefrom, will in time become very beneficial to its mother country.

PHILIP DELEGAL, Sen'r.

Sworn at the public office, March 11, 1739, before

FRAN. ELD.

No. 3.

Extract of a letter from the Saltzburghers, to his excellency General Oglethorpe.

Ebenezer, March 13th, 1739.

We Saltzburghers, and inhabitants of Ebenezer, that have signed this letter, humbly intreat in our, and our brethren's name, your Excellency would be pleased to show us the favor of desiring the honorable Trustees for sending to Georgia another transport of Saltzburghers to be settled at Ebenezer. We have with one accord, wrote a letter to our father in God the reverend Mr. Senior Urlsperger, at Augsburgh, and in that letter expressly named those Saltzburghers and Austrians, whom, as our friends, relations, and countrymen, we wish to see settled here. We can indeed attest of them, that they fear the Lord truly, love working, and will conform themselves to our congregation. We have given them an account of our being settled well, and being mighty well pleased with the climate and condition of this country, having here several preferences in spiritual and temporal circumstances to other people in Germany, which your honor will find in the inclosed copy of our letter to Mr. Senior Urlsperger. If they fare as we do, having been provided in the

beginning with provisions, a little stock for bread, some tools, and good land, by the care of the honorable Trustees ; and if God grant a blessing to their work, we doubt not but they will gain with us easily their bread and subsistence, and lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Though it is here a hotter season than our native country, yet it is not so extremely hot as we were told in the first time of our arrival. But since we have been now used to the country, we find it tolerable, and for working people very convenient, setting themselves to work early in the morning till ten o'clock, and in the afternoon from three to sun-set. And having business at home, we do them in our huts and houses in the middle of the day, till the greatest heat is over. People in Germany are hindered by frost and snow in the winter from doing any work in the fields and vineyards ; but we have this preference, to do the most and heaviest work at such a time, preparing the ground sufficiently for planting in the spring. We were told by several people after our arrival, that it proves quite impossible and dangerous for white people to plant and manufacture any rice, being a work only for negroes, not for European people ; but having experience of the contrary, we laugh at such a talking, seeing that several people of us have had, in last harvest, a greater crop of rice than they wanted for their own consumption. Of corn, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, cabbage &c., we had such a good quantity, that many bushels were sold, and much was spent in feeding cows, calves, and hogs.

We humbly beseech the Honorable Trustees, not to allow that any negroes might be brought to our place, or in our neighborhood ; knowing by experience that houses and gardens will be robbed always by them ; and white people are in danger of life from them, besides other great inconveniences.

[Signed by forty-nine men of the Saltzburghers.]

And lower,

We, ministers of the Saltburghers at Ebenezer, join with the Saltburghers in this petition, and verify that every one of them has signed it with the greatest readiness and satisfaction.

JOHN MARTIN BOLZIUS,
ISRAEL CHRISTIAN GRONAU.

No. 5.

Samuel Auspourguer, of the Canton of Berne in Switzerland, citizen, aged forty-two years and upwards, maketh oath, that in the year of our Lord, 1734, this deponent went to Purysburgh in South Carolina; and that in the beginning of the year 1736, this deponent joined the colony of Georgia; and with the leave of the Honorable James Oglethorpe, Esq. laid out a tract of land in the southern part of the said colony, which this deponent has begun to improve for himself, and has two men servants at work thereon, with two children belonging to one of them. That this deponent left Georgia, the 18th day of July, 1739, on his return to Switzerland, to settle his private affairs, and to get some of his own country servants to return with him to Georgia, to go on with the cultivation of his said tract of land, consisting of five hundred acres. That the climate of Georgia is very healthy, there being quantities of running water, and constantly fine breezes from the sea in the middle of the hottest days. That the soil which this deponent knows the true nature of, is pine-barren, (a sandy earth which bears pine trees) and also oak and hickory, or mixt land and swamps. And that there is a good proportion of the said different sorts of soil in Georgia. That the climate and soil is very fit for raising silk, wine and cotton; for that the white mulberry trees thrive exceedingly well, as also the vines, which have been cultivated there, bear exceeding good grapes, which this deponent tasted in July last in great perfection; and being ripe so soon, can be gathered before the rains fall, which generally happen in September, or October. And that the cotton, by this deponent's own experience, who has planted the same there, grows very well in Georgia, a specimen of this cotton this deponent brought over with him, and produced before the Trustees. All which produces this deponent saith can be raised by white persons, without the use of negroes. And this deponent saith; that the day he left Georgia in July last, he received from the hands of Mr. Thomas Jones, the Trustees' store-keeper at Savannah, a parcel of raw silk to be delivered to the Trustees in England, which the said store-keeper said was the produce of Georgia. And this deponent also saith, that he has seen

the Italian family at Savannah in Georgia, winding off silk from the cocoons, and that they have been there about four or five years. And this deponent further saith, that there are great numbers of prickly pear shrubs in Georgia, and that he hath seen the fly feeding on the leaves, which this deponent verily believes to be the cochineal, he having squeezed the flies and tried them, and found the juice of them a deep red. And this deponent saith, that by industry people may raise a comfortable subsistence; and by encouragement to go on with these useful produces, may obtain thereby the other necessities of life, and benefit themselves as well as Great Britain, by producing in time quantities thereof for export. And lastly this deponent saith, that in the year 1736, he built the fort at Frederica, to which there is four bastions, a ditch palisadoed, and a covered way defended by fifty pieces of cannon. And that he has also seen the fort at St. Andrews, built the same year by Capt. Hugh Mackay, which is a star work, with a ravelin at the bottom, defended by nine pieces of ordnance. And that when this deponent came from Georgia, he left them in a defensible condition.

SAMUEL AUGSPOURGUER.

Sworn at the public office, February 13, 1739, before
W. SPICER.

SIR,—The silk you was so kind to send to have my opinion of, is of as good a quality, in all appearance, as any we have from Italy: it is already as well sorted as it can be; indeed the finer the more valuable, as it is so well cleaned.

The price of raw silk is variable, but at present being dear, I think the greatest part of it is worth twenty shillings per pound.

I am, sir, your most humble serv't,

JOHN ZACHARY.

King-Street, Cheap Side, Jan. 16, 1739—40.

To Mr. Harman Verelst.

No. 6.

• Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Martha Causton to the Trustees.

Savannah, January 16, 1737.

It is not without fear of presuming too far, that I trouble you with this, in order to inform you of the state of the silk worms, and the progress they made last season in this province.

They hatched in March, when the mulberry trees had been about three weeks in leaf. They were kept in a house, twenty-four feet long, wherein were five tables of the full length and width of the house: these tables were wholly covered with the worms, as are likewise the upper floor. Their number, regular disposition, and manner of working, drew many to see them, who looked upon the whole as matter worthy of admiration. The Chickasaw Indians, who were here at that time, were in an exceeding manner delighted with them, never failing their attendance at the house twice a day, during their continuance at Savannah. I ordered an interpreter to inform them that silk was for clothes, and one of them said, they had not those worms in their nation, but if they had, and knew the method of keeping them, they could return us yearly canoes laden with balls, having a great abundance of mulberry trees up in the country, to supply them with food.

No. 8.

Thomas Shubrick, of Ratcliffe Cross, in the County of Middlesex, Captain of the ship *Mary Ann*, aged twenty-nine years and upwards, maketh oath, that in March last he sailed with provisions for General Oglethorpe's regiment, to be delivered at Frederica in Georgia, and arrived there the second day of June following. That this deponent touched first at Charlestown, and took in a pilot for Frederica. That he found the coast of Georgia as capable and secure for navigation, as any coast whatever. That at most places there is seven or eight fathom water within three or four leagues from the land, where any ship may stand into, and if necessity should require, may anchor with the utmost safety, the ground being

all clean sand from one end of the coast to the other. That the entry at Jekyl sound is very safe, and that he found upon the bar there, as he sounded when he went over at young flood, seventeen feet water ; so that upon that bar this deponent computes at low water to be at least fifteen feet water, and at high water full twenty-two feet water, whereby forty gun ships may safely go over it, and when in the sound, which is large and well land-locked, twelve men-of-war may ride in safety. And this deponent saith, that the river in Georgia flowing from that sound will contain a great number of ships in smooth water. And this deponent further saith, that upon the bar at Charlestown, in South Carolina, there is only eleven feet at low water, and eighteen feet at high water. And this deponent lastly saith, that he has seen very fine knee timber in Georgia, fit for shipping, which grows near the sea ; and when on shore, and viewing the soil in those parts, saw exceeding rich land there, having fine mould about two feet deep.

THOMAS SHUBRICK.

Sworn at the public office, February 20, 1739, before

THOMAS BENNETT.

George Dymond, of Golden Land, London, late mate of his Majesty's ship the Princess Caroline, aged forty-six years and upwards, maketh oath and saith, that he, this deponent, has been three voyages from Europe to Georgia in America, and one voyage from Georgia to Pennsylvania, and back on board the ship Peter and James, whereof he was master. That the last time this deponent left Georgia was in the month of January, 1737 ; that by reason of his said several voyages there, and his having been employed as a store-ship and guard-ship in the southern part of Georgia, he was well acquainted with the coast and harbors and the climate ; and the then state and condition of the said colony ; and saith that about four years ago, the Trustees erected, at the island of Tybee, a very high beacon or land mark, visible four leagues at sea, which is of the utmost use to all ships sailing on that coast, there being no other land mark on that, or on the coast of Carolina ; whereby ships not only know the bar of Tybee, but have also a direction by that, to know the coast they are on, which before that beacon was erected, they were at a very great loss to know. That the bar at Tybee is a very safe entrance, where ships of four

hundred tons, without altering their course, may run directly from the sea over the bar, whereon there is fifteen feet at low water, and twenty-two feet at high water, and that creek and the river Savannah communicating therewith, will contain in safety four hundred or five hundred sail of ships in smooth water. That about six years ago the town of Savannah was erected on a bluff, about ten miles from Tybee creek, to which town ships of three hundred tons may safely go up. That when this deponent was last there he verily believes there were upwards of two hundred houses built in the said town, most of which were then inhabited. And this deponent saith, that the coast of Georgia is as convenient and secure for navigation, as any coast in the world; for that at most places there is seven or eight fathom water within three or four leagues from the land, where any ship may stand into, and if necessity should require, may anchor with the utmost safety, the ground being all clean sand from one end of the coast to the other; and this deponent saith, he never heard of any ship that put on that shore by stress of weather, for that the wind seldom or never blows hard upon the land; and if any ships have ever run on shore there, it must have been chiefly owing to mistakes, which the beacon erected at Tybee may for the future very likely prevent. And this deponent saith, that there is the same depth of water upon the bar at Jekyl harbor, as there is upon the bar at Tybee, whereby forty-gun ships may safely go over either of those bars. That Jekyl harbor is so large and land-locked, that twelve men-of-war may securely ride therein; and that the river belonging to that harbor is so large, and hath such a depth of water, as to be able to contain above one thousand sail of ships in smooth water. That about three years ago, the town of Frederica was erected, about six miles on a straight line from Jekyl harbor, where several houses were built, as also a very strong defensible fort; and another fort was begun at St. Simons. And this deponent saith, that the climate of Georgia is very healthy, the latitude of Tybee being in thirty-two degrees, and of Jekyl in thirty-one degrees northern latitude, which climate is capable of producing silk, wine, and cotton, for no vegetables thrive faster any where, than the mulberry trees in Georgia; and this deponent verily believes, that wine may be brought to as great a perfection in Georgia as in Spain, and be much the same

sort, the vines growing wild, and the grapes therefrom being well tasted, which by transplanting and cultivation will improve: and this deponent has no doubt but they will thrive very well; and this deponent saith, he is the more satisfied thereof, for that several Spaniards of St. Augustine, who came from Andalusia in old Spain, with whom this deponent frequently conversed, told him that Georgia would produce every thing that old Spain did; and this deponent brought over with him several pods of cotton, which grew in Georgia; and this deponent saith, the prickly pear shrubs grow wild in Georgia, and that he hath seen several of the flies, which feed thereon, and believes they are the cochineal, for by squeezing the insect, though green to appearance, yet the juice of it is a fine scarlet. And this deponent saith, that he has seen very good timber for masts in Georgia, which grow very high, and near navigable rivers to be floated down: that there are also great quantities of live oak in Georgia fit for building ships: and that the carpenter of the King's sloop, the Hawk, stationed in Georgia, told this deponent, that the timber for masts in Georgia were fit for the largest men-of-war. And this deponent further saith, that the province of Georgia, being settled and fortified, is the greatest barrier and security, not only to Carolina, but to all the northern provinces in America; and that colony having no negroes (which this deponent believes are no way necessary for the raising of silk, wine, cotton, or cochineal) is thereby of the greatest use and consequence to Carolina, to prevent the running away of their negro slaves. And this deponent lastly saith, that in his judgment and opinion the said colony of Georgia, is of great moment and importance to the British nation, and that the produce thereof will, in process of time, become very profitable and beneficial to its mother country.

Sworn at the Public Office, March 7, 1739, before

W. SPICER.

William Thomson, of London, mariner, aged thirty years and upwards, maketh oath, and saith, that he this deponent, has been six voyages from Europe to Georgia in America; that this deponent left Georgia in the month of March last; that he is well acquainted with the coast, harbors, and climate of Georgia; that the beacon or land mark at the island of

Tybee, erected by the Trustees, is visible above four leagues at sea, and is of the greatest consequence to all ships coming upon that coast; that the bar at Tybee is a very safe entrance, whereon there is at least fifteen feet at low water, and twenty-two feet at high water, in common tides; that the town of Savannah is about ten miles up the river from Tybee, to which place ships of three hundred tons may go up with safety; that the sea coast from Tybee to Jekyl, four leagues from the land, is all even ground, not less than seven or eight fathom water, and any ship keeping in such a depth of water, may steer along that coast with the greatest safety, and anchor if they have occasion; for no dangerous banks reach so far from land; that on the bar at Jekyl there is much the same depth of water, as at Tybee, and when over the bar, there is a very convenient harbor for almost any number of ships; that the town of Frederica is about ten miles up the river from Jekyl, upon the island of St. Simons, and when this deponent last left Georgia, the said town was begun to be fortified round, but a fort was before erected in the front of the said town, commanding the river both ways, where the town guard was kept, which was built large enough upon occasion to contain the inhabitants of the said town; that three companies of General Oglethorpe's regiment were encamped on the south point of the said island, and most of the soldiers had lots of land set out near the camp, which they cultivated when not on duty; that on the west part of Cumberland island, the star work fort of St. Andrew is built, that the climate of Georgia is very healthy, and the soil much the same as in South Carolina; and that vines and mulberry trees grow wild thereon; that the possessing Georgia so far to the southward, and settling the same with white inhabitants is a very great security to all his Majesty's northern colonies in America, and particularly to that of South Carolina.

WILLIAM THOMSON.

Sworn at the public office this 26th day of August, 1740,
before me,

M. THURSTON.

No. 9.

Frederica in Georgia, That is to say :

The Deposition of John Fred, Pilot on board his Majesty's Ship the *Flamborough*, taken before Francis Moore, Recorder of the Town of Frederica.

This deponent says, that in the year 1729, he was taken prisoner by a Spanish Guarda Coast from the Havannah, in about the latitude of 24, 40 ; that the Guarda Coast, who took this deponent prisoner, instead of falling in with St. Augustine, as they intended, fell into the northward of that port about fourteen leagues, at the mouth of the river St. Matthæo. This deponent says, that he knows the said river to be St. Matthæo, and that the Spaniards on board the Guarda Coast, and those at Augustine, called it by the same name. And this deponent knows, that the river St. John's is within the bar at Augustine, and that the river which the Spaniards now call St. John's, is what was called St. Matthæo ; but why they have changed that name, he does not know. And this deponent further says, that his knowledge of the river St. Matthæo arises from draughts, and from the declaration of the Spaniards, themselves ; that he has made the entrance of the said river several times, and saw the sand hills and entrance of the said river this voyage.

JOHN FRED.

Sworn to before me the 25th day of January, 1739—40.

FRA. MOORE.

No. 10.

Extracts of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Jones to Mr. John Lyde, dated at Savannah, September 18, 1740.

When I arrived at Savannah, I took lodgings, and boarded at a gentlewoman's house, (Mrs. Vanderplank) where I have continued hitherto, but intend shortly to remove to my own house in town, or to an house of the Trustees, now vacant, having a small but agreeable family, viz. a man and maid servant, also one Mr. Harris, recommended to me by your friend in Fosket ; he is a person of great integrity, has been very serviceable to me, and in some measure made up the disappointment I met with in others ; and one William Rus-

sel, a sober youth, whom I employ in writing for me. My little family (may we be more thankful) have been very healthy; we abound in the necessary conveniences of life; are well supplied with fresh provisions, viz. beef from 1 1-2d to 2 1-2d. per lb. Pork from 2d. to 2 1-2d. per lb. Veal from 2 1-2d. to 3d. per lb. Mutton (being yet very scarce) is from 4 1-2d. to 5d. per lb. Tame fowl we have plenty of, therefore seldom buy any, nor wild fowl, and fish, which we abound with. Mr. Harris, who is an expert fowler, sometimes goes out with his gun, and seldom fails of bringing in either wild turkey, curlews, rabbit, partridge, squirrel, ducks, or geese, (in their season) sometimes venison, but that, and bear, &c. the Indians supply us with often. As to our liquors, we have wine, chiefly Madeira or Vidonia, which cost us from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a gallon; strong beer 20s. per barrel, of 30 gallons; cider 10s. per barrel. Our small beer we brew of molasses, and is cheap. Coffee about 18d. per lb. Tea from 5s. to 7s. per lb. The finest wheat flour is at 1d. per lb. I bake my own bread generally with half wheat, and half Indian wheat flour; the Indian wheat is sold from 10d. to 18d. per bushel, is well tasted, and very nourishing bread. The finest rice is sold here from 3s. 6d. to 5s. per hundred weight. We have good store of pulse, roots, and pot-herbs, such as peas, and beans of divers kinds, (many of them yet unknown in England) pumpkins, musk and water mellons, potatoes and generally all the roots and herbs used in England. As to our fruit, the most common are peaches and nectarines, (I believe that I had a hundred bushels of the former this year in my little garden in the town) we have also apples of divers kinds, chincopin nuts, walnut, chesnut, hickory and ground nuts; several sorts of berries, besides those common with you; very good grapes; but no oranges grow nearer than Amelia to the southward. We have exceeding fine water at Savannah, fire wood very reasonable; such as have houses of their own, have no other burthen than performing or paying for their guard duty in their turn. There are no taxes; all public buildings, and other such works such as bridges, roads, &c. have been carried on at the expense of the trustees. I have not seen any part of the world, where persons that would labor, and used any industry, might live more comfortably.

Having mentioned Darien, which is a town inhabited by

the Highland Scotch, under the care of Mr. McCloud, the people live very comfortably, with great unanimity: I know of no other settlement in this colony more desirable, except Ebenezer, a town on the river Savannah, at thirty-five miles distance from hence, inhabited by Saltzburghers and other Germans, under the pastoral care of Mr. Bolzius and Mr. Gronau, who are discreet, worthy men; they consist of sixty families or upwards. The town is neatly built, the situation exceeding pleasant, the people live in the greatest harmony with their ministers, and with one another, as one family; they have no idle, drunken, or profligate people among them, but are industrious, many grown wealthy; and their industry hath been blessed with remarkable and uncommon success, to the envy of their neighbors; having great plenty of all the necessary conveniences for life (except clothing) within themselves; and supply this town with bread kind, as also beef, veal, pork, poultry, &c.

Many artifices have been made use of to gain over these Germans and the Darien people, to join with the discontented party here, in petitioning for negro slaves; and since they could not be prevailed on, letters have been wrote to them from England, endeavoring to intimidate them into a compliance.

I have already exceeded the limits of a letter, and perhaps trespassed on my friends' patience, by entering into a detail of matters not very entertaining; yet I thought it necessary, lest my friends should conclude, that if living, I was wholly deprived of my reason, by remaining in a country (represented to be) wholly destitute of the common necessities of life; or that necessity obliged me to continue in it, or else that an eager desire of wealth might tempt me to run any hazard; this last I am well assured my friends, who have known my conversation and manner of life in England, would hardly believe to be the case with me, whatever instances may be given of persons, who have run great risks in their healths and lives on that account.

I hinted to you in my last, that I enjoyed a better state of health since I came in this colony, than I had for some years past; my friends here have the same, though many of the inhabitants have had fluxes or intermitting fevers frequently, (often occasioned by intemperance) yet few die of those distempers. I have carefully inquired into the account of

our births and burials at Savannah, and its districts, for one year past, and find the former has exceeded the latter, as three to two. I have not known any town, or place in England, where fewer have died in that space of time, in proportion to the inhabitants. I have this day (that I might be at a greater certainty) inquired at Mr. Whitefield's (who has by far the largest family of any in this colony consisting of near one hundred and fifty persons) and received the following account from Mr. Habersham, (who has the care and direction of the family in Mr. Whitefield's absence) that their family consists of sixty persons, including hired servants, sixty-one orphans, and other poor children, twenty-five working tradesmen, and others, in all one hundred and forty-six, exclusive of many others, who have remained at their house a month, two or three months at a time, (and have been accounted to be of their family) and that all the family are in good health.

REASONS

FOR ESTABLISHING THE

COLONY OF GEORGIA,

WITH REGARD TO THE

TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

THE

*Increase of our People, and the Employment and Support it
will afford to great Numbers of our own Poor, as well
foreign persecuted Protestants.*

*With some Account of the Country, and the design of the
Trustees.*

Hoc Natura præscribit, ut homo homini, quicunque sit, ob eam ipsam Causam tamen, quod is homo sit, consultum velit.

CICERO DE OFFICIIS, LIB. III.

LONDON :

1733.

REASONS
FOR ESTABLISHING THE
COLONY OF GEORGIA.

It is undoubtedly a self-evident maxim, that the wealth of a nation consists in the number of her people. But this holds true so far only, as employment is, or can be found for them; if there be any poor, who do not, or cannot add to the riches of their country by labor, they must lie a dead weight on the public; and as every wise government, like the bees, should not suffer any drones in the state, these poor should be situated in such places, where they might be easy themselves, and useful to the commonwealth.

If this can be done by transplanting such as are necessitous and starving here, and consequently unnecessary; it is incumbent on us, at this time more particularly, to promote and enlarge our settlements abroad with unusual industry, when the attention of almost all the powers in Europe is turned towards the improvement of theirs. The French are continually undermining us both in the East and West Indies. The Emperor is attempting the same: Portugal owes her riches chiefly to her plantations: Sweden, Denmark, and Germany find themselves poor, because they have none at present, though they abound with laborious men. The colonies of Spain supply the want of industry in her natives, and trade in her towns. If the scarcity of her people at home is imputed to them, I think it unjust; it is evidently owing to the nature of her government, her religion, and its Inquisition: As may be seen by Italy, who has no colonies, yet is thin of inhabitants, especially in the Pope's dominions. And though of as rich a soil as any in the world, yet her people are poor, and the country in many places uncultivated, by shutting up those, who would serve their Maker in a better man-

ner by being industrious, and would be more useful members of society as ploughmen than as monks.

It is at all times our interest to naturalize as much as we can the products of other countries; especially such as we purchase of foreigners with ready money, or otherwise to our disadvantage; such as are necessary or useful to support, or carry on our manufactures: such as we have a great demand for: and such as we can raise ourselves as good in kind as any other country can furnish us with. Because by so doing we not only gain a new provision for our poor, and an increase of our people by increasing their employment; but by raising such materials ourselves, our manufactures come the cheaper to us, whereby we are enabled to cope with other nations in foreign markets, and at the same time prevent our home consumption of them being a luxury too prejudicial to us.

I hope in the following tract to make these evidently appear, and show the advantages that must accrue to our trade by establishing the colony of Georgia. I shall give some account of the country, and the proceedings of the Trustees, and with candor take notice of the objections that are made to this design, and endeavor to answer them in the clearest and fullest manner I can. I think it may be proved that we have many, who are, and will be useless at home, and that the settling such a colony with these, and the foreign persecuted Protestants, is consistent with the interest and reputation of Great Britain.

To show the disadvantage under which we purchase some of the products of other countries, I shall begin with the Italian trade, the balance of which is every year above three hundred thousand pounds against us, as appears by accounts taken from the custom-house books. And this balance is occasioned by the large importation of silk, bought there with our ready money, though we can raise raw silk of equal goodness in Georgia, and are now enabled to work it up here in as great perfection as the Italians themselves.

That we can raise it, we have sufficient proof by an importation of it from Carolina for several years, though for want of hands only to carry it on, the quantity imported has been too small for any thing more than trials. With many navigable rivers for the convenience of its trade, the country

is extremely rich and fruitful. It produces white mulberry-trees wild, and in great abundance. The air, as it is healthy for man, (the latitude about thirty-two,) is also proper for the silk worms; and as care is the principal thing requisite in nourishing and feeding these, every person from childhood to old age can be of use. But the goodness of this silk will appear fully by the following letter from a gentleman, whose name will carry more weight than any thing I can offer in behalf of it. This letter was written to the Trustees for establishing the colony. On application to them, I obtained a copy of it, which is here printed with the gentleman's leave.

To the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia.

GENTLEMEN, — In writing this answer to the letter, which I had the honor to receive from you, dated the 29th instant, wherein you desire to know my sentiments of an undertaking to raise raw silk in your new settlement in Georgia: of the probability of succeeding therein: the proper steps to be taken to bring that work to perfection: and my opinion of the nature, quality, and use of the raw silk produced in Carolina. It is a great pleasure to me, that from experiments which I made some years ago, I can now, besides my opinion, give you some information concerning that silk, which may be depended on.

The value and usefulness of the undertaking will appear as soon as we consider, that all the silk consumed in this kingdom is now of foreign growth, and manufacture, which costs the nation very great sums of money yearly to purchase, and that the raising our supply thereof in his Majesty's dominions in America, would save us all that money, afford employment to many thousands of his Majesty's subjects, and greatly increase the trade and navigation of Great Britain. It appears to me as beneficial to this kingdom, attended with as little hazard or difficulty, as much wanted, and which may as soon be brought to perfection in a proper climate, as any undertaking so considerable in itself, that I ever heard of. I therefore think, there is a very great probability of its succeeding, if such proper measures are pursued, and such assistance afforded to the poor people at their first setting out, as are necessary to settle, instruct, and encourage them.

The silk produced in Carolina has as much natural

strength and beauty, as the silk of Italy, (which is commonly called fine silk,) and by the several experiments I have tried with it, I am satisfied, it may be made to answer the same purposes as Italian silk now does, if it be reeled in short skeins, a fine, clean, and even thread; to effect which, if some experienced persons are at first sent to teach the people, the work will soon be made easy to the meanest capacity, and the value of the silk will be thereby greatly increased.

As for my own part, if at any time you should think I can be of use to promote so good a work, I shall be ready to execute your commands, as far as I am able, and always remain,

Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

THO. LOMBE.

Old Jewry, Jan. 31, 1732.

On inquiry I have found, that the Trustees have some time ago taken care of what Sir Thomas Lombe so much recommends to them. They have sent to Italy for a sufficient quantity of silkworms' eggs: they have engaged two or three Piedmontese to go and settle in Georgia, and instruct the people: one of these, a man of capacity and long experience in the business, went with the first embarkation. They likewise in all their grants of land, to those who go at their own expense, as well as those who are sent on the Charity, oblige the people to keep a sufficient number of white mulberry trees standing on every acre, or else to plant them where they are wanted.

If an objection should arise here, that by raising this silk ourselves, and reducing the importation from Italy, we may likewise reduce our exportation thither, by her resolving to take none of our goods: to this it may be answered, she takes none but what she is, and will be obliged to take; and even of that little she takes at present, but a very small part is either sold or consumed in those particular States, from whence we have our supply of Italian silk, which we buy in the dominions of the king of Sardinia, the Venetians, and the Pope, and seldom or never any otherwise than for ready money. As Italy consists of several small governments, whose interests are independent of each other, no disadvantages in trade, arising from the conduct of Great Britain to any one of them, will be either felt or resented by the rest.

From whence it is clear, that our not taking the usual quantity of organzine (i. e. thrown silk) from Piedmont, will not be attended by any loss in our exportation to Tuscany, Genoa, or any of the other States.

The greatest part of the silk imported from Italy comes in ready thrown, which is owing to the king of Sardinia's prohibiting the exportation of any raw silk out of his dominions, since the erecting of Sir Thomas Lombe's valuable engine for throwing it here. This should make us double our diligence, and without further loss of time set about raising raw silk for ourselves, and thereby save so great an expense to the nation. The quantity of Italian thrown silk (exclusive of raw silk of all sorts) imported for many years past, may be computed at three hundred thousand pounds weight per annum, which at 20s. per pound of sixteen ounces, amounts to three hundred thousand pounds in money. The cost of the like pound of Italian raw silk is from 10 to 15s. according to its goodness and fineness. If then the aforesaid quantity could be had, was imported in raw silk, and made into organzine (i. e. thrown silk) at home by the said engines, supposing the raw silk to cost 13s. per pound on an average: in such case, one hundred and five thousand pounds would be annually saved, and gained to the nation by the labor of our own people. But in this we are at present obstructed by the prohibitions in Italy, that would oblige us to take their silk ready thrown.

Since Sir Thomas Lombe has erected, and brought to perfection, his engines at Derby for working fine raw silk into organzine, the price of that commodity is greatly reduced abroad, and several of our manufactures have been thereby much improved at home.

By raising raw silk in Georgia, and gaining it at so easy a rate for manufacturing here, we shall save not only the large sum paid annually to the Italians, but we shall likewise prevent a very large sum going every year into France for her wrought ones; which are almost all of them clandestinely imported, as may be seen by the following account of all the wrought silk publicly imported directly from France, and entered at the custom house.

Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia. 209

Imported.	Silk wrought.	Silk mixed with gold and silver.
In 1724	80 lb. weight.	
1725	75	
1726	75 $\frac{1}{8}$	33 lb. weight.
1727	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7
1728	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1729	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1730	14 $\frac{1}{8}$	
1731	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 $\frac{1}{2}$

As it is notorious how great the consumption of French silks is in England, the little public importation of them must be a very great surprise, and becomes a matter of public consideration to prevent so great a loss to our revenue, and so great a prejudice to our manufactory.

This may be partly prevented (as I observed just now) by making the manufacture and sale of our own so much cheaper; for the high value of our silks is a great inducement to the wearing those of France, who can make hers more substantial, and afford them cheaper, as she raises most of her raw silk within her own dominions, and receives the remainder from Italy on easier terms than we do, viz. the exchange of her goods, which are admitted by the Italians, paying less duties than the manufactures of England: besides, the nearness of her situation to Italy, and cheapness of labor, make her too potent a rival for us to contend with in the silk trade, in our present circumstances.

The Italian, French, Dutch, Indian and China silks imported thrown and wrought only (including what are clandestinely run) may, on the most moderate computation, be reckoned to cost us five hundred thousand pounds per annum, which may all be saved by raising the raw silk in Georgia, and afterwards working it up here, now we have attained the arts of making raw silk into organzine, and preparing it for our weavers, who can weave it into all sorts of wrought silks, in as great perfection as any nation of the world: so that we only want the staple (or raw silk) and to have it at a reasonable rate. With this Georgia will abundantly supply us, if we are not wanting to ourselves, and do not neglect the opportunity, which Providence has thrown into our hands.

The saving this five hundred thousand pounds per annum

is not all ; but our supplying ourselves with raw silk from Georgia carries this further advantage along with it, that it will provide a new or additional employment for at least twenty thousand people in Georgia, for about four months in the year, during the silk season ; and at least twenty thousand more of our poor here, all the year round, in working the raw silk, and preparing such manufactures as we send in return ; or to purchase the said raw silk in Georgia, to which country our merchants will trade to much greater advantage, than they can expect to do to Italy, and yet the exportation to this place will (as I said before) be in all probability preserved.

This great advantage and saving will arise by supplying our own consumption only, which we may carry much farther, and extend to a foreign exportation, because raw silk may be raised much cheaper in Georgia, where land is to be had on easy terms, and mulberry-trees abound, than in Italy where both are very dear, where the poor man gives half the produce of his labor for the mulberry-leaves, which he gathers on the gentleman's grounds. As the cost then of the mulberry-leaves are reckoned half the charge of making raw silk in Italy, the people of Georgia, who may have them for nothing but the trouble of gathering, will have this vast advantage above the Italians.

The work of making raw silk is easy, the silk worms will multiply prodigiously in such a country as Georgia, (every worm is supposed to lay above two hundred eggs, as well as spin three thousand yards of silk,) and where there is such a number of white mulberry-trees, a sufficient quantity of silk might soon be raised to supply all Europe, if there were hands enough properly instructed to carry on the work.

If then we consider how cheap, and in what large quantities raw silk may be raised in Georgia ; that we are now masters of all the arts of manufacturing it at home, and thereby enabled not only to supply our own consumption, but that of our neighbors also ; we may soon hope, instead of paying a tribute of five hundred thousand pounds per annum, as we now do to Italy, France, Holland, and the East Indies, to see the silk manufacture made as useful and profitable to us at home, as the woollen now is.

It is well known, that with the same ease with which we can raise silk in Georgia, we can supply ourselves with flax, hemp and potashes. (For this last trade some are ready to

embark to settle there at their own expenses.) These materials we bring at present not only from the east country, and other places, but great quantities from Russia, where the balance is every year very strong against us, as will appear by the following account of importation from thence for the three years, which could most conveniently be got. This account shows the total value of the importation of all goods from Russia for each year; the value of our exportation thither, and the excess of the former, which is so much money paid by us to Russia. It likewise shows the quantity and value of the flax, hemp and potashes imported from thence. By charging these articles to Georgia, (where they can be raised,) and by subtracting the importation of them from thence, from the excess of the importation from Russia, the reader will see the balance against us is greatly reduced.

Imported from Russia.					1724.				
	C.	q. lb.	l.	s. d.				l.	s. d.
Flax rough	21783	2	8	38121	4	11	Total Importation from Russia	212229	12 9
Hemp rough	70870	3	16	59740	5	1	Exportation to Russia	35663	13 9
Potashes	757091	lb. wt.	—	9463	12	9	Excess Imported	176665	19 0
Total	107325	2	9				Importation from Georgia	107325	2 9
New Balance on the Importation					63340 16 3				

Imported from Russia.					1725.				
Flax rough	18428	3	3	32245	2	1	Total Importation from Russia	250315	6 11
Hemp rou.	82835	2	18	70452	16	11	Exportation to Russia	24847	14 10
Potashes	1337076	lb. wt.	—	16712	19	00	Excess Imported	225467	12 1
Total	119410	18	00				Importation from Georgia	119410	18 00
New Balance on the Importation					106056 14 1				

Imported from Russia.					1726.				
Flax rough	34094	3	3	59665	17	1	Total Importation from Russia	235869	2 5
Hemp rou.	102843	1	16	87416	17	7	Exportation to Russia	23512	1 8
Potashes	117631	lb. wt.	—	14720	7	9	Excess Imported	206357	0 9
Total	161803	2	5				Importation from Georgia	161803	2 5
New Balance on the Importation					44563 17 4				

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Besides these great quantities of flax and hemp which are imported rough, great quantities likewise are brought from thence ready drest, and the article of linen from Russia is very considerable. If then sufficient quantities of rough flax can be raised in Georgia, and our linen manufactory at home encouraged, as it was in king William's reign, the balance of trade with Russia will be on our side, instead of being so much against us, and we shall gain much more employment for our people here.

Though these articles are so very considerable, and enough to justify the settling such a colony as Georgia; they are not the only ones in which she will be advantageous to us. She can supply us with indigo, cochineal, olives, dying woods, and drugs of various kinds, and many others which are needless to enumerate. One article more I shall mention, viz. wine, of which (as she is about the same latitude with Madeira) she may raise, with proper application and care, sufficient quantities, not only for part of our consumption at home, but also for the supply of our other plantations, instead of their going to Madeira for it. The country abounds with variety of grapes, and the Madeira vines are known to thrive there extremely well. A gentleman of great experience in Botany, who has a salary from the Trustees, by a particular contribution of some noblemen and gentlemen for that purpose, sailed from hence almost five months ago, to procure the seeds and roots of all useful plants. He has already, I hear, sent from Madeira a great number of malmsey, and other vines to Charlestown, for the use of Georgia, with proper instructions for cultivating the vines, and making the wine.

If it is granted then, that great benefits will arise to our trade from such a colony, which is to interfere as little as possible with the products of our other plantations; the next consideration is, whether this can, or should be established by our people, who are useless at home, or whether we have any who are so. And here it will be proper to take notice of two objections (the only ones I have heard) that have been started by some people to this design, and for various reasons. By some from their want of attention to, and examination of it, and the real state of our trade: by some, from their constant diffidence of the success of any undertaking, how good soever the prospect may be: by some, from their natural

disposition to censure every thing, in which they are not themselves concerned, and their thinking another man's generosity and public spirit a tacit reflection on their want of them: by some from their unwillingness to contribute, and a desire to cover their avarice under a dislike of their design: and by others, from a sincere opinion of the force of the objections, and the prejudice this colony may be to England.

To these last I would offer such arguments as occur to me in answer to their objections, and hope they will be found as satisfactory, as they appear to me convincing.

Obj. 1. Our colonies may in time grow too great for us, and throw off their dependency.

Obj. 2. The planting such a colony will take off our people, who are wanted to cultivate our lands at home.

These are objections which stand against all colonies in general, and the last of them (as appears from the writings of Sir Josiah Child and Mr. Penn) has been made to the settling all our old ones; and yet I will appeal to every man of reflection and knowledge, whether our trade is not at present chiefly supported by them.

It is well known how indefatigable our neighbors have been in promoting their foreign settlements ever since the last war; so that the more they can raise there for their own supplies, the less occasion they must have for us. It is notorious likewise, what footing the French have on the continent in America, and with what industry they have been, and will be extending themselves. Is it reasonable then to let so rich and fertile a country fall entirely into their possession? Or at best, to let our part of it lay absolutely useless to us, while they are making so great an improvement of theirs? No certainly; we should anticipate them, and as we have the most convenient part of it, we should secure it, and be making our advantages, at the same time they are pursuing theirs with such application and steadiness.

But to answer these objections in a more particular manner.

1. Our colonies may in time grow too great for us, and throw off their dependency.

If they are governed by such mild and wholesome laws as the English are; if these laws give them so full a security of their properties, is it to be imagined they will have recourse to a foreign power, where all their possessions must

become immediately precarious ? But, says the objector, as they want nothing from us, they may set up for an independency, and form themselves into a government of their own. To this it may be said, they do, and always will retain a love for their native country : we see every day, that in most of the plantations as they raise their families, they send their children hither for education ; and as they raise their estates, they send over the produce of their labor to be vested in our funds, or in the purchase of our lands, which are the best hostages we can have for their behavior : while they are free, they never run the risk of losing their possessions, and gaining the displeasure of their mother country ; they will always be secure while our constitution is preserved ; till we are oppressed at home, they will never think of an independency : and when we are, it will be of little consequence to us what will become of our colonies.

But should this objection have any force against some of our other colonies, I think it cannot hold against this of Georgia, as England must be the market for the greatest part of her produce, as her people must send to England for all their manufactures, and as they will be settled with a stricter regard to the interests of their native country, and a more equal distribution of lands, the want of which has been so prejudicial to the well-settling of Jamaica. If there should be any reason then to apprehend a danger from any of our other settlements, it would certainly be prudent to have some absolutely dependent upon us, that might be a balance to the power of the others.

So short an answer may perhaps be sufficient to clear up an objection, in which every man, who will consider it, may soon satisfy himself.

The other, as it seems at first view of more consequence, will require an answer more ample.

2. The planting such a colony will take off our people, who are wanted to cultivate our lands at home.

That there is a want of people for the tillage of our lands, in many parts of the country, I will readily acknowledge. But to what is this owing ? Among other reasons, apparently to the management of those schools, which are in almost every town for the education of our poor ; to a charity, which I am far from thinking ought to be suppressed, but certainly calls for a regulation. The youth, who are

sent to these schools, should, at the same time they are instructed, be inured to the labor of the country, that, as they grow up in strength, they may improve in the knowledge of their business, and get a habit of labor, and even a love of it. Whereas by being kept wholly to their writing and reading, till they are thought qualified to maintain themselves in a better manner, they are sent up to London to be apprentices in our little trades, or to be servants in families. And to this is owing the number of idle and necessitous people, with which the town abounds, and of which every man must see too many instances every day of his life; to this must be imputed that all our trades are overstocked, and the daily complaints we hear from tradesmen, that they starve one another. Will these people, when reduced, go to the plough? Can any man think they will? Does any one see they do? If one of them goes into the country, he cannot, by his inexperience, and want of strength, do half the work of an able laborer; consequently no farmer will employ him, or, if he does, will give him more than half the wages. There may be other causes of the ruin of tradesmen, the fluctuating of trade from one place to another, or the decay of it; our newspapers tell us, that on a strict and partial inquiry, eight thousand houses in the city and suburbs are found to be at present uninhabited, and the former owners of most of them entirely ruined. Will a broken mercer, a weaver, or periwig-maker, how industrious soever, who has been used to a life less laborious than that of the country, go with his family to an employment, of which he has no knowledge, and for which he is not qualified? where at the best he cannot earn above five shillings per week, and may be some part of the year without work, and in a place, where as a stranger the parish will never give him an allowance? What then is he to do? He cannot throw himself into another trade, which has the same complaint as his own, the being overstocked. We see what he does, he goes into another country to give them the benefit of his labor, and communicates to them perhaps the knowledge of some useful manufactory to our prejudice, or else he lives some time upon his credit, to the absolute ruin of himself, and the hurt of his neighbor, or runs into villany of any kind for his support. Are not these people useless to the public? not only so, but a burthen? Is it not worth while to transplant

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them to a place, where they may be of service, and a great one?

If it should be asked here, How will these people, who cannot work at the plough at home, be able to go through the same labor abroad? The answer is obvious. Their fatigue, unless at first, will not be so great, as the climate is so much kinder, and the soil so much more fruitful. Besides, though a man, who has not been inured to the labor of the country, and has a family, will not go to the plough for so poor a support of them, as a laborer's hire, and even this likewise precarious; yet he will not repine at any fatigue, when it is on an estate of his own, and his gains from this estate will rise in proportion to his labor. Add to this, the high value of the commodities to be raised there, and the low prices of provisions will make it easy to conceive, that the man, who cannot do half the work of an able man here, may earn a sufficient provision for himself and family in Georgia, especially when he pays neither rent nor taxes for his lands.

If these people are of no benefit to the community, what are all those who are thrown into prison for debt? I believe the calculation will not be thought immodest, if I estimate these at four thousand every year; and that above one third part of the debts is never recovered hereby. If then half of these, or only five hundred of them were to be sent every year into Georgia, to be incorporated with those foreign protestants, who are expelled their own countries for religion, what great improvements might not be expected in our trade, when those, as well as the foreigners, would be so many new subjects gained by England? For while they are in prison, they are absolutely lost, the public loses their labor, and their knowledge. If they take the benefit of the act of parliament, that allows them liberty on the delivery of their all to their creditors, they come naked into the world again; as they have no money, and little credit, they find it almost impossible to get into business, especially when our trades are overstocked; they therefore by contracting new debts, must return again into prison, or, how honest soever their dispositions may be, by idleness and necessity will be forced into bad courses, such as begging, cheating, or robbing. These then likewise are useless to the state, not only so, but dangerous. But these (it will be said) may be ser-

viceable by their labor in the country. To force them to it, I am afraid, is impracticable ; to suppose they will voluntarily do it, I am sure is unlikely. The colony of Georgia will be a proper asylum for these. This will make the act of parliament of more effect. Here they will have the best motive for industry, a possession of their own and no possibility of subsisting without it.

I have heard it said, that our prisons are the properest places for those who are thrown into them, by keeping them from being hurtful to others. Surely this way of thinking is something too severe. Are these people with their liberty to loose our compassion ? Are they to be shut up from our eyes, and excluded also from our hearts ? Many of very honest dispositions fall into decay, nay perhaps because they are so, because they cannot allow themselves that latitude, which others take to be successful. The ways that lead to a man's ruin are various. Some are undone by over trading, others by want of trade, many by being responsible for others. Do all these deserve such hardship ? If a man sees a friend, a brother, or a father going to a prison, where felons are to be his society, want and sickness his sure attendants, and death in all likelihood his only, but quick relief. If he stretches out his hand to save him, if to rescue him from immediate slavery and ruin, he runs the risk of his own liberty, and at last loses it ; is there any one, who will say, this man is not an object of compassion, not only so, but of esteem, and worth preserving for his virtue ? But supposing, that idleness and intemperance are the usual cause of his ruin : are these crimes adequate to such a punishment, as confinement for life ? But even yet granting, that these unhappy people deserve no indulgence, it is certainly imprudent in any State to lose the benefit of the labor of so many thousands.

But the public loss by throwing men into prison, is not confined to them only ; they have many of them wives and children : these are also involved in their ruin. Being destitute of a support, they must perish, or else become a burthen on their parishes by an inability to work, or a nuisance by their thefts. These too are useless to society. Besides, by the poverty of the wives, and the confinement of the husbands, the public loses the increase, which might be expected from them, and their children, which, though a distant consideration, is not a trifling one.

In short all those, who can work, yet are supported in idleness by any mistaken charity, or are subsisted by their parishes, which are at this time through all England, overburthened by indolent and lazy poor, who claim, and are indulged that relief designed only for the impotent poor: all those, who add nothing by their labor to the welfare of the State, are useless, burthensome, or dangerous to it.

To say, there are no indigent poor in London, is disputing a thing which every body allows: to say, these can all get employment here, or live by their labor in the country, is asserting a fact, which no one can prove, and very few will believe. The point then to be considered, is, not sending these into the country, which appears impracticable, but preventing others for the future coming from thence, which certainly is reasonable: in the mean time, what is to be done with these necessitous? Nobody, I suppose, thinks they should continue useless. It will be then an act of charity to these, and of merit to the public, for any one to propose, forward, and perfect a better expedient for making them useful; if he cannot, it is surely just to acquiesce, till a better is found, in the present design of settling them in Georgia.

Those who are convicted of crimes, are sent to the plantations; whether they are of benefit to them or no, I shall not here make question; but if they are thought proper to be sent, why should not those likewise, whose morals are as yet untainted, and who have the same temptations to villany, idleness, and want?

But colonies, so far from draining us of our people, certainly add to the increase of them. Let us suppose only twenty men in a town: twelve of these have constant employment: this enables them to marry with comfort, by affording them subsistence for the families they may raise; the other eight who have but scarcity of work, prey on each other, and are all hereby kept in want and dejection, which prevent their marrying. For this they are sensible, a quiet mind, and conveniences for life are absolutely requisite: few are desirous of increasing their species only to be miserable; nothing indeed but a possession, or a sufficient income can justify a reasonable creature's wishing for a progeny. If then of these eight, three are transplanted into a country, where they may be happy, and enabled to marry; they leave the other five more work and subsistence, and by their

labor in our plantations, raise produces to be manufactured in our mother country, and thereby furnish more employment for them; this puts these five men also in a capacity to maintain families, and induces them therefore to get them. This is not conjectural, but evident from natural consequences, and (if need be) from the example of Rome, who often sent some of her citizens abroad into colonies for the very increase of her people (*Stirpis augendæ Causa*) if we may credit such an authority as Livy.

Since I have mentioned Rome, I cannot help taking notice of the great advantages these people found by their colonies. They began so early with them, that Romulus in his reign sent out seven colonies, and they continued them (with but few interruptions) quite through the commonwealth. Without these they could never have raised themselves to such an height: these paved the way for the many conquests they made, and secured them afterwards: they were a constant receptacle for the needy, a subsistence for the industrious, and a reward for the veteran, who had spent the vigor of his life in the service of his country. They added likewise (as an ingenious *author observes) very much to the public revenue; for Rome was at last in possession of lands in the several cantons of Italy, in Sicily, and the adjacent isles, in Spain, in Africa, in Greece, Macedonia, and all over Asia. An easy rent was paid by the citizens (among whom these lands were divided,) to the revenue of each state, and the peculiar domains of these conquered cities and kingdoms were incorporated in the public domain, and the produce of them lodged at last in the Roman treasury.

Carthage also (which was the greatest republic except Rome the world ever knew,) pursued this policy. All her conquests were for the sake of her commerce, as all her citizens were merchants. The riches of all Africa, from Egypt to the ocean, were brought to Carthage as tribute or plunder. She extended her dominions to the coasts of Spain, and in the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia. But these places when conquered she did not depopulate, or suffer to lie uncultivated, but still gathered the fruits of them, and made them a treasury of new and certain riches.

* Mr. Moyle.

And such a treasury are our plantations; for sooner or later the wealth, that is raised there, centers in England; our rich planters generally come to settle here with their estates, which are got without any expense to us. And though the importation from these places vastly exceeds our exportation thither, we are still manifestly the gainers, as we are not, when it happens so from other countries.

1. As we have the benefit of manufacturing the products which they raise.

2. As this employment by enlarging their maintenance adds to the increase of our people at home.

3. As those in the plantations are increasing more than they could at home, by having a better provision, and by the reception of foreigners.

4. As they consume great quantities of our manufactures, they will raise the value of our lands, by adding to the price of wool.

5. As the commodities from thence are conveniences for life, or necessary for our navigation, or trade with other countries by a re-exportation. For wherever it happens that foreign products are not consumed here in luxury, but can be re-exported, (as tobacco and sugar for instance) the importation of them how great soever is a gain to England.

If what I have said here does not answer the second objection, the conduct of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia will, I hope, and doubt not, satisfy those that make it. They have, and constantly do, (as I am credibly informed) use the utmost care, by a strict examination of those who desire to go over, and by their inquiries otherwise, to send none, who are in any respect useful at home. They admit no sailors, no husbandmen, or laborers from the country. They confine the Charity to such only as fall into misfortunes of trade, and even admit none of these, who can get a subsistence, how narrow soever it may be. They suffer none to go, who would leave their wives and families without a support; none who have the character of lazy and immoral men; and none, who are in debt, and would go without the consent of their creditors. To prevent which, they have resolved (I see by the newspapers,) to publish the names of such as shall be chosen at least a fortnight before embarkation; so that the honest creditor can suffer nothing hereby, nay he can be a gainer, as well as the public. For the poor

artificer and tradesman, when he finds a decay in his trade, and that he cannot support it much longer, instead of holding it, till he increases his debts, and is thrown into a dungeon, by which they usually become irrecoverable: or, instead of running into a foreign country, in dread of a gaol, by which the debts are lost, and his labor and increase are also lost by the public, and by which he imparts the knowledge of some useful manufactory, to the detriment of his country; he may now make a dividend of what he has among his creditors, he may go with his wife and children, who will all be useful, into an easy, a sufficient, and pleasant support; where he will have no reason to be ashamed of his fortune, as he will see no inequality; or the labor of cultivating his lands, as they will be his own possession. Nay to such also, whose creditors compound with them, the Trustees (as I am informed) recommend it as a necessary part of their duty, to discharge, whenever they come to affluence, the remainder of their debts. They have likewise made such regulations, as they conceived would best conduce to the promoting religion, the preservation of peace, the order of government, and the encouragement of industry and virtue among them.

If then from the advantages, which will accrue to our trade, from the ease which our parishes, and the public will gain by a right disposing of the poor, the establishing such a colony in Georgia, appears so consistent with prudence; how much more so, is it, with that humanity we ought to have for our fellow creatures? How many never gain a sufficient settlement in the world? Here they may be sure of one. How many, after they have gained it, fail by various misfortunes? Here they may recover, and forget them. How many may be saved hereby from begging and perishing in our streets by want? How many from the gallows, to which, necessity and idleness lead the way? How many may now live to be useful, who are destroyed by their parents at their very birth, lest they should be a burthen too great for their support; and whose light is extinguished the very hour they receive it? How many more would see the light, by the marriage of those, who are prevented now by the fear of want? And how many may be preserved from languishing out a miserable life in a prison, to the loss of their families, and the public, and the scandal of a country of liberty?

How many too may be preserved from self-murder, into

which they inconsiderately plunge themselves, to avoid the infamy of begging, or the horrors of a dungeon? This appears by a late example of Smith, the book-binder, who destroyed his wife, his child, and himself, which probably he would not have done, could he have been secure of such a retreat, and support, as this colony will afford.

If a man gives an alms to a beggar in the street, it is undoubtedly a proof of a compassionate temper, but is an ill-judged one, as it serves only to encourage and confirm him in a habit of idleness.

If a man bestows a sum upon those miserable objects in prison, it is a temporary relief in their misery, but not a sufficient one from it.

Every public act of insolvency is likewise an act of benevolence, but does not answer the end proposed, if it makes no provision for the poor who are released. Their discharge otherwise only giving the wretched advantage of starving at large.

Such then, and such only are right benefactions, as procure not only immediate relief for the unfortunate, but provide for their future happiness, and use.

For this beneficent design, his Majesty has given a large tract of land (called Georgia) near Carolina, in trust. The management of it is in the hands of several noblemen and gentlemen, who give up their time and assistance to the improvement of it, without any view to their own interest: nay at their own desire are restrained, as well as their successors, by clauses in the charter, from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit whatsoever, by, or from this undertaking; and also from receiving any grant of lands within the district of Georgia to themselves, or in trust for them.

That each benefactor may know, that what he has contributed, is safely lodged, and justly accounted for, all the money is deposited in the bank of England, who have undertaken to give receipts for the same. Entries are made of every benefaction in a book kept for that purpose by the Trustees, with the benefactors' names, or if concealed, the names of those, by whose hands they sent their money. Annual accounts of all the money received, and how the same has been disposed, are to be laid before the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common

Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them, and printed copies of the same accounts will be transmitted to every considerable benefactor.

The prospect of success is as great, and the difficulties as little as have attended the planting any other colonies; perhaps they are less, since Carolina (to which Georgia is contiguous,) abounds with provisions. Vast numbers of cattle, as well as hares, rabbits, and deer. Fowls and fish of various kinds; fruits of the best sort. Indian corn, and European grain of every kind in vast abundance. The climate is known; the air very clear, healthy, and almost always temperate, and there are men to instruct in the seasons, and in the nature of cultivating that soil, which is a very rich one. Georgia is southward of the present settlements in Carolina. It is a vast tract of land, divided from that province by the river Savannah, and bounded on the south by the river Alatamaha, which are both large and navigable. By the best accounts we have yet had, from one river to the other at the sea is between sixty and seventy miles, and the extent of Georgia from the sea to the Apalatian mountains is about three hundred miles, widening very much in its progress from the sea.

The charter grants to the trustees and their successors all the lands and territories from the most northern stream of the Savannah river, all along the sea-coast to the southward unto the most southern stream of the Alatamaha river, and westward from the heads of the said rivers, respectively in direct lines to the south seas, and all that space, circuit, and precinct of land lying within the said boundaries, with the islands in the sea lying opposite to the eastern coast of the said lands, within twenty leagues of the same, which are not already inhabited, or settled by any authority derived from the crown of Great Britain, together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs, and bays: mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, privileges, and preëminences within the said territories, and the precincts thereof, and thereunto in any sort belonging; to hold to them and their successors for ever for the better support of the colony.

The country is at present a forest of oaks, beech, elm,

cedar, chesnut, walnut, cypress, myrtle-trees, and many others, besides the mulberries, and vines, which I have mentioned before. That it is capable of great improvements, is generally agreed by those, who have seen the place; and there needs no other proof than this: Many of the people in South Carolina, hearing of this charter, have gone thither to survey the lands, and have (as I am informed) applied since to the trustees for grants. His Majesty has ordered the governor of South Carolina to give what assistance he can to the new settlement; this the assembly also (I hear) have promised. The governor is very hearty in promoting it, and has generously contributed towards it. He has been engaged likewise to provide several sawyers in South Carolina, and some of the most friendly among the Indians to assist the people in clearing the lands, &c. There are but few Indian families within four hundred miles, and those in perfect amity with the English. Port Royal, the station of his Majesty's ships, is within thirty; and Charlestown a great mart, that freights every year near two hundred ships, is within one hundred and twenty miles. If the colony is attacked, it may be relieved by sea from Port Royal, or the Bahamas, and the militia of South Carolina is ready to support it by land.

As towns are established, and grow populous along the rivers Savannah, and Alatamaha, they will make such a barrier, as will render the southern provinces of the British colonies on the continent of America, safe from Indian, and other enemies.

Under what difficulties was Virginia planted? The coast and climate then unknown, the Indians numerous, and at enmity with the first planters, who were forced to fetch all their provisions from England; yet it is grown so great a province, that the revenue is increased one hundred thousand pounds for duties upon goods that are sent yearly home from thence.

Within these fifty years Pennsylvania was as much a forest as Georgia is now, and in those few years, by the wise economy of Mr. Penn, and those who assisted him, it now gives food to eighty thousand inhabitants, and can boast of as fine a city as most in Europe.

The poor, who are sent to Georgia on the Charity, have all the expenses of their passage defrayed, have likewise all

conveniences allowed them in their passage: and great care is, (as I hear) and will be taken not to crowd too many of them in a ship for fear of illness. When they are set down in Georgia, the Trustees supply them with arms for their defence, working-tools for their industry, seeds of all kinds for their lands, and provisions for a year, or until the land can yield a support.

As experience has shown the inconvenience of private persons possessing too large quantities of land in our colonies, by which means, the greatest part of it must lie uncultivated, and they are thrown at such a distance, that they can neither assist, or defend one another; the Trustees settle the people in towns, a hundred families in each: and allot no more land than what can with ease be cultivated, and yet will afford a sufficient and handsome maintenance. They divide each man's share into three lots, viz.: one lot for a house and yard in the town, another for a garden near the town, and a third for a farm at a little distance from the town. These lots are all to be laid out, and the houses built by joint labor and assistance; and when finished, chance is to determine, who shall be the proprietors of each of them; by this conduct no man will have reason to complain, since fortune alone can give the preference.

As they will not, it seems, be suffered to alienate their lands without leave of the Trustees, none certainly will go over, but with a design to be industrious; and as they will be settled in such a frugality, none, who can live here, will think of going thither, where, though they will have a sufficient and plentiful maintenance, they will have no room for luxury, or any of its attendant vices.

For continuing the relief which is now given, there will be lands reserved in the colony, and the benefit arising from them, is to go towards carrying on the trust. So that at the same time, the money by being laid out preserves the lives of the poor, and makes a comfortable provision for those, whose expenses are by it defrayed; their labor in improving their own lands will make the adjoining reserved lands valuable, and the rents of those reserved lands will be a perpetual fund for relieving more poor people.

A power is granted to the Trustees by the charter to enjoy lands, &c. in Great Britain, in fee, not exceeding one thousand pounds a year beyond reprises; also estates

for lives and years, and all chattels and things whatsoever, for the better settling, supporting, and maintaining the said colony, and to demise the same for a term of years in possession, and not in reversion, not exceeding thirty-one years from the time of granting; and if no fine is taken, the full value to be reserved, otherwise at least a moiety of the full value.

The corporation and their successors may import and export their goods at, and from any port or ports in Georgia, without being obliged to touch at any other port in Carolina.

The people, who settled there, are declared by the charter to be free, and not subject to any laws, but such as are framed by the corporation, and their successors; these not to be repugnant however to the laws of England, and to be approved by the King in council.

Civil liberty is to be established there in its full extent. No appearance of slavery, not even in negroes; by which means, the people being obliged to labor themselves for their support, will be, like the old Romans, more active and useful for the defence of their government.

That the people may not be long without public worship, the Trustees, (as I am informed,) have already fixed on a clergyman, who is well recommended, is to embark very soon, and is to be allowed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, as good a salary, as they give any of their other missionaries.

As liberty of conscience will be granted, it cannot be doubted, but a well-regulated government in a country so temperate, so pleasant, and so fruitful, will draw thither many of the distressed Saltzburghers, and other persecuted Protestants; and by giving refuge to these, the power and wealth of Great Britain, as a reward for her hospitality, will be increased by the addition of so many religious and industrious subjects.

Since I have mentioned the foreign protestants, it may not be improper to consider their present situation, and to show how prudent it is to establish such a colony as Georgia, if only on their account. As men, as fellow Christians, and as persecuted Christians, they have, as well as our own poor a claim on our humanity, notwithstanding the narrow opinions, and mistaken politics of some, who think their charity should begin, continue, and end at home.

The protestant interest in Europe hath declined very much since the treaty of Westphalia. In France there were several flourishing protestant churches, which are now entirely destroyed. There were five hundred churches in Poland; but being neither permitted to rebuild or repair the places of assembly, they are now reduced to forty, who are harassed on every pretence, of which Thorn has been a bleeding instance. In Hungary they are at this time depriving the protestants of their churches, and it is to be feared that a persecution now rages as openly there, as ever it did in France. Every one must know, and there can be few but feel the miseries which the Saltzburghers have lately undergone. Their hardships could only be equalled by their resolution in meeting, and their patience in bearing them. Many of these have been dragged from prison to prison till they perished by want; the rest, men, women, and children forced to renounce their faith, or drove vagrants from their country. There have been above twenty-three thousand of these exiles; and by advices received here lately, the number of converts among them to the protestant religion increases every day. In the Palatinate a concealed persecution is on foot; Deux Ponts, Bergues, Juliers, and all the Palatinate were formerly under protestant princes, and are now subject to a zealous Roman Catholic. The head of the house of Saxony, that was formerly the great support of the protestant interest in Germany, is firmly attached to the Romish religion. The church of Rome hath also gained the chiefs of many other families in Germany. The preferments in the Teutonic, and Malteze orders, the rich benefices, and great ecclesiastical sovereignties, the elective crown of Poland, and the imperial dignity itself, are used by that court to gain or keep the nobility, and even the sovereigns of Germany dependent on their supremacy: and when the sovereigns are of their profession, they think they can make more converts in a day by force, than in whole ages by preaching; for if the prince orders his protestant subjects to renounce their religion, they must submit, resist, or fly. Resistance is in vain, unless they are assisted by protestant princes, which these cannot do without raising a religious war through Europe; which is not to be expected on every oppression for religion, since it could not be procured in the flagrant instances of Thorn and

Saltzburgh. They have no remedy then but flight. Whither shall they fly? Not to other Roman countries, and the protestant ones are not capable of giving assistance to a great number. Sweden, the great bulwark of the protestant religion in the north, having lost all Livonia, and the chief of her corn-bearing provinces, is reduced to a weak condition, and has more men than she can well support, as have many of the protestant dominions in Germany. Our king, as elector of Hanover, has indeed wisely and generously given reception to a thousand Saltzburghers. The king of Prussia has likewise established some of them in regular colonies on his frontiers, but he has declared he will take no more. There remain then of the protestant powers the Swiss, Holland, and England, to receive these distressed protestants. The Swiss increase so in people, that instead of receiving others, they are forced to send out great numbers every year to foreign countries; and at this time a hundred of them, (who have been used to the dressing of vines, and raising hemp and flax,) are petitioning to be sent with their families, and settled in Georgia. Holland, though swarming with people, yet yearly takes at present a vast number from Germany and Switzerland. As for England, she is unable to support any great additional number of inhabitants in her present circumstances. For husbandry-work, though there is indeed a demand in harvest-time, yet there is not employment enough in winter, as is evident by the many thousands that come from Wales and the west to assist in getting in the harvest in the eastern and midland counties, and return again, not finding work sufficient to support them there. As for trades and manufactory, the other means of livelihood, they are (as I have before observed) so overstocked, there is not employment for the men bred to them. Indeed the impossibility of England's using any great number of foreign hands has been proved by experience in Queen Anne's time. It is well known, that all the endeavors of the court could not dispose of ten thousand poor Palatines, that then came over; and after they had tried all methods, were forced to send some of them to Ireland, and the greater part to America, in the last of which places they have succeeded very well, and the kingdom has gained great benefit from their labor.

At a time when the Protestants are so persecuted, how

much will it be for our honor, that the crown of England, which in queen Elizabeth's reign, and at some times since has been looked on as the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, should still preserve the same title? And at this time, when his Majesty as elector of Hanover, when Holland, and Prussia have offered relief to so many of them, how much is our honor concerned, that England should not be the last to open her arms to receive her unhappy brethren, grant them a support, and allow them the valuable privilege of worshipping their Great Creator, in the way which they think will best secure their interests in eternity? As men can we refuse them relief? As Christians can we neglect the offering it? Indeed it is possible to frame but one objection to it, which is, it will be attended with such advantages to England, that it may seem to be the effect of self-interest, not of charity; and in that light, for the sake of most of my readers, I will consider it.

If there is any weight in Sir Josiah Child's calculation, that every man by the produce of his labor in the plantations gives employment, *i. e.* maintenance to four people at home: if (as the same author proves) where there is Employment, people will always resort; the people of England will be considerably increased by settling such a colony as Georgia, which will be (by the possessions and privileges it will grant,) such an invitation to those foreign Protestants, who are forced to fly from home, and those likewise, who are obliged openly to profess the Romish religion, because they have no asylum. This will not seem strange to any one, who considers the reasons why our own subjects go from hence. The want of employment here has furnished France and Spain with woollen manufacturers, and Russia from the same cause is able to show us artificers of our own countrymen in almost every trade. If these people had been sure of work and subsistence here, they would never have gone to live under governments where liberty and property are precarious, and at so great a distance from their friends and acquaintance. If therefore employment abroad will carry away the subjects of this country from the superior advantages of our government and constitution, it cannot be doubted, but by raising more employment at home, they will readily return to their native country, which they know is the seat of liberty; and it is as little to be feared, but

numbers of foreigners will from all parts flock hither, rejoicing to find an asylum from persecution and arbitrary power, if they can be sure of a support. This support will be granted them by procuring them work, and work will never be wanting, if we will raise the rough materials in such a colony as Georgia for our manufactory.

I will consider this question then very shortly on each side.

If we have not employment enough for our people, and some of them are hereby in a starving condition, it is just to send them where they may live by their labor, and prudent to secure for ourselves the benefit of it.

If we have employment enough for our people, and yet a greater number would be an addition to the riches of our country; it is surely for the interest of England, to settle as many foreigners as possible in Georgia; when she knows that by every thousand, who will be transplanted thither, she will raise the means for employing four thousand more at home. Yet if none of our people were useless here, it would be absolutely requisite to settle with the foreigners some of them in Georgia, who might keep up the English language and government.

Among the crowns which the Romans bestowed on the deserving, as an incitement to virtue, the most honorable was the *Corona Civica*, which was granted to any soldier, that preserved the life of a fellow citizen in an engagement; the most remarkable respect and immunities were annexed to it, such a value did that truly wise and great people set on acts of generosity, and a life of a fellow citizen. Nay, by a law, which Romulus made, it was criminal to kill, or so much as sell an enemy in war if he yielded; he judging right the necessity of a number of men to cultivate the land which he conquered. How meritorious then will it be in us to preserve the lives of so many fellow citizens and subjects, and gain so many new ones as will be by this colony? Not only preserve their lives, but procure for them ease and affluence? And by this very act of humanity, get so much new wealth for our country, by opening a new spring for our trade?

As the mind of man cannot form a more exalted pleasure, than what arises from the reflection of having relieved the distressed; let the man of benevolence, whose substance enables him to contribute towards this undertaking, give a

loose for a little to his imagination, pass over a few years of his life, and think himself in a visit to Georgia. Let him see those, who are now a prey to all the calamities of want, who are starving with hunger, and seeing their wives and children in the same distress ; expecting likewise every moment to be thrown into a dungeon, with the cutting anguish, that they leave their families exposed to the utmost necessity and despair : let him, I say, see these living under a sober and orderly government, settled in towns, which are rising at distances along navigable rivers : flocks and herds in the neighboring pastures, and adjoining to them plantations of regular rows of mulberry trees, entwined with vines, the branches of which are loaded with grapes ; let him see orchards of oranges, pomegranates, and olives ; in other places extended fields of corn, or flax and hemp. In short, the whole face of the country changed by agriculture, and plenty in every part of it. Let him see the people all in employment of various kinds, women and children feeding and nursing the silk worms, winding off the silk, or gathering the olives ; the men ploughing and planting their lands, tending their cattle, or felling the forest, which they burn for potashes, or square for the builder ; let him see these in content and affluence, and masters of little possessions, which they can leave to their children ; and then let him think if they are not happier than those supported by charity and idleness. Let him reflect, that the produce of their labor will be so much new wealth for his country ; and then let him ask himself, whether he would exchange the satisfaction of having contributed to this, for all the trifling pleasures, the money which he has given would have purchased.

Of all public-spirited actions, perhaps none can claim a preference to the settling of colonies, as none are in the end more useful. If on this account only, queen Elizabeth's name must be ever dear to England, who looked so far into futurity for the good of her subjects ; for this so much esteem is due to the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Bacon, and those patriots, who assisted in settling Virginia ; and we are indebted to the Lord Shaftsbury, and that truly wise man Mr. Lock, for the excellent laws which they drew up for the first settlement of Carolina.

Common is the complaint we hear, that public spirit is lost among us, and that no one pursues any dictates but

those of his interest. I hope this is not true, I do not think it is; but if there is any foundation for it, it is time to awaken people to a love of their country, to see her welfare, and to promote it. Virtues may become a habit in a nation, as well as in a private man; but then an emulation must be raised as formerly, that the fire may catch and spread. Every man can be beneficent in some degree, and surely no one who has read * the Man of Ross can be otherwise. He who cannot give, may yet by his approbation excite others to it, who are more able. He, who does not approve, can however be silent, he can forbear giving an ill-natured turn to an action that has the appearance of virtue, till he has tried, and found it only an appearance. If an instance of public spirit is seen, it becomes a common interest to support it, and the more singular it is, the greater encouragement it deserves. Of this I am sure, no one has a right to censure others for the want of public spirit, till he has shown he is not liable to the same censure himself.

Whoever then is a lover of liberty, will be pleased with an attempt to recover his fellow subjects from a state of misery and oppression, and state them in happiness and freedom.

Whoever is a lover of his country, will approve of a method for the employment of her poor, and the increase of her people, and her trade.

Whoever is a lover of mankind, will join his wishes to the success of a design, so plainly calculated for their good: undertaken, and conducted, with so much disinterestedness.

Few arguments surely are requisite to incite the generous to exert themselves on this occasion. To consult the welfare of mankind, regardless of any private views, is the perfection of virtue; as the accomplishing and consciousness of it is the perfection of happiness.

* A character in Mr. Pope's poem of the Use of Riches.

The Common Council of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

The Right Honorable Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury; the Right Honorable John Lord Viscount Percival; the Right Honorable John Lord Viscount Tyrconnel; the Right Honorable James Lord Viscount Limerick; the Right Honorable George Lord Carpenter; the Honorable Edward Digby, Esq.; James Oglethorpe, Esq.; George Heathcote, Esq.; Thomas Tower, Esq.; Robert More, Esq.; Robert Hucks, Esq.; Rogers Holland, Esq.; William Sloper, Esq.; Francis Eyles, Esq.; John Laroche, Esq.; James Vernon, Esq.; Stephen Hales, A. M.; Richard Chandler, Esq.; Thomas Frederick, Esq.; Henry L'Apostre, Esq.; William Heathcote, Esq.; John White, Esq.; Robert Kendal, Esq., Alderman; Richard Bundy, D. D.

Since the publishing this book, a letter from Mr. Oglethorpe has been received by the Trustees, and extract of which, with a copy of the Governor and Council's letter to Mr. Oglethorpe, and the resolutions of the Assembly of South Carolina, are here added as a confirmation of several things alleged in the book.

To the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

From the Camp near Savannah, Feb. 10, 1732—3.

GENTLEMEN,—I gave you an account in my last, of our arrival at Charlestown. The governor and assembly have given us all possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January, where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers, while I went myself to view the Savannah river. I fixed upon a healthy situa-

tion about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms a half-moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty foot high, and on the top flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country five or six miles, and along the river side about a mile. Ships that draw twelve foot water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river-side in the centre of this plain I have laid out the town. Opposite to it is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the Trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river; and the other way, you see the river for about six miles up into the country. The landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the first of February. At night their tents were got up. Till the seventh we were taken up in unloading, and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands, and set some to the fortification, and began to fell the woods. I marked out the town and common; half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon. Not being able to get negroes, I have taken ten of the independent company to work for us, for which I make them an allowance. I send you a copy of the resolutions of the assembly, and the governor and council's letter to me. Mr. Whitaker has given us one hundred head of cattle. Col. Bull, Mr. Barlow, Mr. St. Julian, and Mr. Woodward are come up to assist us with some of their own servants. I am so taken up in looking after a hundred necessary things, that I write now short, but shall give you a more particular account hereafter. A little Indian nation, the only one within fifty miles, is not only at amity, but desirous to be subjects of his Majesty King George, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children at our schools. Their chief, and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian religion.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

A copy of the Governor and Council's Letter to Mr. Oglethorpe.

SIR,—We cannot omit the first opportunity of congratulating you on your safe arrival in this province, wishing you all imaginable success in your charitable and generous undertaking, in which we beg leave to assure you, any assistance we can give shall not be wanting in promoting the same.

The General Assembly having come to the resolutions inclosed, we hope you will accept it as an instance of our sincere intentions to forward so good a work, and of our attachment to a person, who has at all times so generously used his endeavors to relieve the poor, and deliver them out of their distress, in which you have hitherto been so successful, that we are persuaded, that this undertaking cannot fail under your prudent conduct, which we most heartily wish for. The rangers and scout boats are ordered to attend you as soon as possible.

Col. Bull, a gentleman of this board, and who we esteem most capable to assist you in the settling your new colony, is desired to deliver you this, and to accompany you, and render you the best services he is capable of, and is one whose integrity you may very much depend on.

We are with the greatest regard and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servants.

Robert Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Al. Middleton,
A. Skeene, Fra. Yonge, James Kinlock, John Penwicke,
Thomas Waring, J. Hammerton.

Council Chamber, 26th of January, 1732.

A copy of the Assembly's Resolution.

The Committee of his Majesty's Honorable Council appointed to confer with a Committee of the Lower House on his Excellency's Message relating to the arrival of the Honorable James Oglethorpe, Esq., Report,—

That agreeable to his Majesty's instructions to his Excellency, sent down together with the said message, we are unanimously of opinion, that all due countenance and encour-

agement ought to be given to the settling of the colony of Georgia.

And for that end your Committee apprehend it necessary, that his Excellency be desired to give orders and directions, that Capt. Mac Pherson, together with fifteen of the rangers do forthwith repair to the new settlement of Georgia, to cover and protect Mr. Oglethorpe, and those under his care, from any insults that may be offered them by the Indians, and that they continue, and abide there till the new settlers have enforced themselves, and for such further time as his Excellency may think necessary.

That the lieutenant and four men of the Apalachicola garrison be ordered to march to the fort on Cambahee, to join those of the rangers that remain; that the commissary be ordered to find them with provisions as usual.

That his Excellency will please to give directions that the scout-boat at Port Royal, do attend the new settlers as often as his Excellency shall see occasion.

That a present be given to Mr. Oglethorpe for the new settlers of Georgia forthwith, of an hundred head of breeding cattle, and five bulls, as also twenty breeding sows, and four boars, with twenty barrels of good and merchantable rice: the whole to be delivered at the charge of the public, at such place in Georgia as Mr. Oglethorpe shall appoint.

That periaugas be provided at the charge of the public to attend Mr. Oglethorpe at Port Royal, in order to carry the new settlers, arrived in the ship Anne, to Georgia, with their effects, and the artillery and ammunition now on board.

That Col. Bull be desired to go to Georgia with the Hon. James Oglethorpe, Esq., to aid him with his best advice and assistance, in the settling of that place.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency, Robert Johnson, Esq., Governor of South Carolina, to Benjamin Martyn, Esq., Secretary to the Trustees.

Charlestown, Feb. 12, 1732—3.

SIR, — I have received the favor of yours, dated the 20th of October, and the duplicate of the 24th. I beg you will assure the Honorable Trustees of my most humble respects,

and that I will attach myself to render them, and their laudable undertaking, all the service in my power.

Mr. Oglethorpe arrived here with his people in good health, the 13th of January; I ordered him a pilot, and in ten hours he proceeded to Port Royal, where he arrived safe the 19th; and I understand from thence, that after refreshing his people a little in our barracks, he with all expedition proceeded to Yamacra upon Savannah river, about twelve miles from the sea, where he designs to fix those he has brought with him.

I do assure you, that upon the first news I had of this embarkation, I was not wanting in giving the necessary orders for their reception, and being assisted at Port Royal; although they were here, almost as soon as we heard of their design of coming. I am informed Mr. Oglethorpe is mighty well satisfied with Georgia, and that he says, things succeed beyond his expectation.

Our General Assembly meeting three days after Mr. Oglethorpe's departure from hence, I moved to them, their assisting this generous undertaking: both houses immediately came to the following resolution, That Mr. Oglethorpe should be furnished at the public expense, with one hundred and four heads of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs, and twenty barrels of good rice; that boats should be provided also at the public charge to transport the people, provisions, and goods from Port Royal to the place where he designed to settle; that the scout boats, and fifteen of our rangers, who are horsemen, and always kept in pay, to discover the motions, should attend Mr. Oglethorpe, and obey his command, in order to protect the new settlers from any insults, which I think there is no danger of; and I have given the necessary advice and instructions to our garrisons, and the Indians in friendship with us, that they may befriend and assist them.

I have desired Col. Bull, a member of the council, and a gentleman of great probity, and experience in the affairs of this province, the nature of land, and the method of settling, and who is well acquainted with the manner of the Indians, to attend Mr. Oglethorpe at Georgia with our compliments, and to offer him his advice and assistance. Had not our Assembly been sitting I would have gone myself.

I have received the Trustees' commission, for the honor

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of which, I beg you will thank them ; I heartily wish all imaginable success to this good work, and am,

Sir, your most humble servant,

ROBERT JOHNSON.

P. S. Since the above, I have had the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Oglethorpe, who gives me an account, that his undertaking goes on very successfully.

A

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE,

PRESENTED TO THE

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BY THOMAS SPALDING, ESQ.,

RESIDENT MEMBER OF THE SAME.

LIFE OF OGLETHORPE.

JAMES OGLETHORPE was born in London in December, 1698. His family had been an old and respectable one, established for centuries in the county of Surrey. He was the youngest son of Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who was an officer in the Duke of York's own regiment, before the Duke ascended the throne as James II., and whose family had been during the civil war, and at all times, devoted to the House of Stuart.

William III. was too politic a Prince, and too much afraid of the army, to persecute Sir Theophilus or his family for such opinions. But he could do worse — he could neglect them. By a high-minded man persecution can be borne. He steels himself to resistance — he stands erect to receive it — and he may break before the storm, but he will not bend to it. Neglect, whether it comes from the one or the many in power, descends upon a generous mind like the cold autumnal dew, withering all hope and blighting every energy of intellect. Such was the position of General Oglethorpe's family with the government at his birth — such was his own condition to his grave. But he availed himself to every opportunity, however transient, to strive after fame, and to labor for a name of renown among men.

In 1711, when Oxford and St. John were the ministers of Queen Anne, although but thirteen years of age, he entered the army, as an Ensign, and was afterwards promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the Guards of Queen Anne, who, as is well known, was laboring at the close of her life to collect around her person and her throne the friends of her unhappy brother.

The Queen died in August, 1714, hurried to her grave by the idle disputes between her ministers Oxford and Bolingbroke; and George I. ascended the throne of England, against the wishes of the British Empire, at the call of a faction, that controlled the army and navy at that eventful period.

From this faction young Oglethorpe had nothing to hope, and he therefore soon afterwards withdrew from the British army, passed over to the continent, when he was between seventeen and eighteen years of age, and took service with Prince Eugene, in his war against the Turks, and elsewhere.

He was with Prince Eugene when he crossed the Danube, and defeated the Grand Vizier Ali, at Peterwaradin in the year 1716, and also the year following, (1717,) when Eugene besieged and took Belgrade, again defeating the Turks with great slaughter, storming their camp, and completely routing their army.

In this gigantic war, where two great empires were struggling for life, for law, and for religion, every power, and passion, of the human mind, was called forth, and the young soldier, by his gallantry, enterprise, and capacity, won the favor of Prince Eugene, who received him into his family, attached him to his staff, and in this school and under this great captain he learned the art of war.

The spring of 1719 brought peace to all Europe. Weak kings or corrupt ministers so entangled affairs at home that it required the whole attention of the ruling powers to keep the rickety machine of government in motion. Law, with his Mississippi scheme in France, and Sir John Blount, with his South Sea scheme in England, made the year 1720 one of the most memorably miserable that either country had ever known.

Young Oglethorpe, however, then twenty-one years of age, had returned to England; and in the calm of Oxford was schooling himself for other duties. His early education had been interrupted by his military pursuits, and it was necessary that some portion of his manhood should be given to the acquirement of that knowledge, which, if acquired at all, is generally mastered at an earlier period.

In 1727 died George I., who was succeeded by George II. Let us hear what a distinguished whig historian (Russell) says on this occasion. "The administration was wisely continued in the hands of the whigs, the only true friends of the Protestant succession, on the principle of the revolution. If the heads of opposition cannot be taught silence or induced to change sides, the king must either resign his minister, or that minister must secure a majority by some other means. No minister ever understood those means better than Sir Robert Walpole.

“Possessed of extraordinary abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in order to corrupt its members. He discovered that almost every man had his price. He bought many, and to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections.” And yet Mr. Russell says, that it was wisely done, to continue this man in power.

The high reputation Mr. Oglethorpe had acquired abroad, as a soldier, and the scarcely less high reputation he had acquired at Oxford, as a scholar, drew upon him the attention of that party, who had for years been resisting the violence and waste, which the faction in power, under the wild cry of Popery and the Pretender, had been indulging in — and in 1722, at the early age of twenty-four, he was brought into parliament, from Haslemere in Surrey.

Mr. Oglethorpe knew when he went into parliament, that the eyes of the public were upon him, and that his every step should be marked with caution and judgment; for his mother had been at one time the medium through which Oxford and Bolingbroke, and Queen Anne herself, communicated with the exiled family. And his sister was domesticated with them.

He soon became an active member, usefully directing his views to ameliorating the condition of the unhappy, in every form within his power.

In the session of 1728, says Smollet,* Mr. Oglethorpe, having been informed of shocking cruelty and oppression exercised by jailors upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee, appointed to inquire into the state of the jails of the kingdom.

They began with the Fleet Prison, which they visited in a body; there they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bainbridge, the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. Bainbridge and others were punished by act of parliament, and disqualified from holding place, &c. and the law regulating jails amended.

It is known to reading men, that no short-hand writer was ever admitted to the gallery of the house of commons, be-

* Vol. ii. p. 440.

fore 1780. Before that time we have nothing but fragments of debates, such as the memory could carry away from a single hearing.

When the mother of the first Pitt, in her maternal pride and fondness, desired to hear her son, she had to go into the gallery in male clothing. When the younger Pitt was asked, what of all lost works he most desired to draw from oblivion, he replied, "a single speech of Lord Bolingbroke."

The writer of this notice has read many of the speeches of General Oglethorpe in this imperfect form, and will present three or four, to show his thoughts, if not his words.

In 1731, the opposition to the court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited. Says Smollet,* "On a motion of thanks to the king, for a treaty with Spain, Mr. Pulteney resisted; Sir William Windham spoke to the same purpose as Mr. Pulteney.

"Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed, that many other things related more nearly to the honor of the nation, than did the boasted guarantee of the pragmatic sanction. He said he wished to have heard that the new works of Dunkirk had been entirely razed and destroyed — that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain upon British commerce. That more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valor the nation must chiefly depend in case of an invasion; and that some regard had been shown to the oppressed Protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as they had been for some years past, for he had observed that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the weaker; and this he was afraid had been the case between France and Great Britain. He was replied to by Mr. Pelham and Mr. H. Walpole."

Wishing to give the color of General Oglethorpe's opinion upon what should have been the policy of England in her foreign relations, I have extracted a speech from Smollet, (though there is a fuller report of the same in the Gentleman's Magazine, of London,) and to understand it, it is necessary to remember that from the time the Duke of Orleans

* Vol. ii. p. 141.

became Regent of France, a very close connection had taken place between himself and his kinsmen, George I. and George II. of England, both of them having descended from Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, the daughter of James I.

Again, to understand his opinions in relation to the colonial and domestic policy of England, two or three short speeches will be given from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

In September 1732, upon a petition from the sugar colonies, praying for some exclusive benefits to themselves and restrictions upon their continental brethren, Mr. Oglethorpe spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, in all cases, that come before this house, where there seems a clashing of interests, we ought to have no regard to the particular interests of any party, or set of people, but to the good of the whole. Our colonies are a part of our dominions — the people in them our own people; and we ought to shew all equal respect. I remember, there was once a petition presented to this house, by one county, complaining that they were injured in their trade, as to the sale of beans by another, modestly praying, that the other should be prohibited selling beans. If it should appear, that all our plantations upon the continent of America, are against that which is desired by the sugar colonies; we are to presume that the granting thereof, will be prejudicial to the trade, or particular interest of our continental settlements; and surely, the danger of hurting so considerable a part of our dominions, — a part which reaches from the 30th, to the 46th degree of north latitude, will at least, incline us to be extremely cautious in what we are about. If therefore, it shall appear that the relieving our sugar colonies, will do more harm to the other parts of our dominions, than it can do good to them, we must refuse it, and think of some other method of putting them upon an equal footing with their rivals, in any part of the trade. We may form some judgment, from the appearances, that were before us last session of parliament; but may judge more distinctly of things from what may be brought before us *now*. Some concerned for our settlements on the continent, seemed last year indifferent, and to give up the affair; I believe without any good authority from their constituents.

"But now, the colonies themselves have had an opportunity to consider the affair, and to transmit their opinions in a

proper and authentic manner; and, until these opinions are laid before us, we cannot, or should not, make up our own. I must say, to the honor of the gentlemen concerned in the board of trade, that they are as diligent, and as exact in all matters which fall under their consideration, as any board in England. They have more business than most others, which will increase in proportion as our colonies increase in riches and power. It is already one of the most useful boards we have, and while the same good conduct is observed, it will be of great advantage to the trade of the British dominions."

After this debate, it was resolved to address his Majesty, to give directions to the commissioners for trade and plantations, to lay before the house, copies of all representations and papers which had been laid before them, since the last session of parliament, relating to the dispute between his Majesty's sugar colonies, and northern colonies in America.

In October following, in a debate upon the extending and continuing the patent of Mr. Delome, for the introduction of the silk manufacture into England, from Italy, Mr. Oglethorpe spoke as follows:—

"The act for confining the king's patent, to the term of eleven years, was made in the reign of King James I. The bubbles and monopolies about that time erected, had become a public grievance. This law was to prevent setting up any such in future. The petitioner pretends to nothing, but the sole use of his own invention; for so long, as may be a just recompense to him, for the hazard and expense he has been at in bringing it to perfection. If he can show he has not had a sufficient recompense, we are not confined by the former law, we ought to bring in a bill to prolong the term of his patent; or make him some other proper and reasonable recompense. Raw silk may be bought in this country for sixteen shillings per pound,* but when manufac-

* Silk, as will be observed by this speech of General Oglethorpe, was worth in England in its raw state, sixteen shillings per pound in 1732. In 1786, Arthur Young states raw French silk to be worth at Lyons twenty livres, or about sixteen shillings and sixpence per pound. The price in England of Italian silk is about sixteen shillings sterling.

As Georgia is now engaged in carrying out the original views of General Oglethorpe and his associates in the cultivation of silk, it is interesting to know, that while all things else have been changing their value, silk has for one hundred and seven years retained its original price. Destined perhaps to rise, for its parent country, China, embittered to madness by the cruel and horrible trade in opium, which British and American philanthropists force upon them, will soon, in all probability, like Japan, close their ports against all Christians, or perish in the attempt.

tured and made orgazine, sells for twenty-four shillings per pound, the eight shillings added to the price is clear gain to us, because added by the labor and industry of our own people; therefore we must grant, that this gentleman has brought to his own country, a very useful and profitable branch of trade; and if he can show he has not yet had a recompense by his patent, his petition ought to be referred to a committee." Mr. Oglethorpe afterwards brought in a bill to extend the time of this patent, which was carried through parliament.

We will now give a speech of General Oglethorpe's at a later period, to close this subject, which is more in his manner, as I have understood from others. In reply to Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, and then pay-master of the forces, upon a bill brought by the administration to punish the city of Edinburgh, in consequence of a riot, and the murder of a Captain Porteous, by a mob.

"Mr. Speaker, — I have never had the happiness of being married, but I have been told, and believe, that marriage is the happiest condition for man, — and I have often heard the union between ourselves and our neighboring state, compared to marriage, and I think not improperly; for the happiness of both parties must consist in mutual harmony and a good understanding, which can never be preserved, if the stronger shall proceed to oppress the weaker.

"The Scots, when they consented to this union with us, put so absolute a confidence in our honor, that it would be ungenerous and unjust to give them the least cause to complain, or repent of what they have done. I shall readily own, that a most horrid riot and murder happened in the city of Edinburgh; and that there were several obvious measures neglected, which might have prevented it, — but I think the punishment intended by the present bill, is by far too serious, both with respect to the Lord Provost, and the city itself.

"As to the Lord Provost I am of opinion, that he did all that could be expected, from a man of his age or abilities; and cannot see any reason why he should be singled out for punishment. And, Mr. Speaker, as gentlemen have in this affair, been pleased to quote Puffendorf and Grotius, I shall beg leave to quote the words of an author, who I am sure, most gentlemen in this house, have read twice for once that they have read either of those two authorities. The words

are from a book which I have in my pocket, — *Hudibras*, part 2d, canto 2.

“Tho’ nice and dark this point appear,
Quoth Ralph — It may hold up, and clear,
That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case,
Justice gives sentence many times
On one man, for another’s crimes.”

“These lines, sir, introduce an account of a bed-ridden weaver in New England, who was hanged for the murder of an Indian, committed by a preaching cobbler. The Indians, it seems, insisted warmly, that the murderer should be hanged; and as they did not know his person, the saints thought it much better to hang up the bed-ridden weaver than the offender, who was a useful man among them by acting in the double capacity of preaching and cobbling.

“I have, gentlemen, to apply this bed-ridden weaver’s case to the Lord Provost. I shall only observe, that from all that appears, from the evidence given in, at the bar of this house, there were others equally, if not more guilty, than the Provost.

“As for the censure inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh by the present bill, I think there is something in it, that is contrary to the intention of the bill. The intention of the bill, sir, as I take it, is to punish the citizens for not suppressing an inhuman riot, and preventing a barbarous murder; but the punishment to be inflicted upon them, is by a bill, taking away their guard, putting it out of their power, to suppress any such riot for the future. Here is a city, and here are magistrates, liable to be insulted by a mob, yet we tie up their hands from quelling this mob, and we punish them because it was not quelled. In my opinion, we cannot do a greater piece of service to the authors of Porteous’s murder, than to consent, that the present bill should pass into a law; for by it, we expose both the peace of the city and the authority of the magistrates, and the interest of the country, to all their future insult and outrage.

“In short, sir, I think the present bill is neither calculated to punish those who were negligent in suppressing the riot; nor for preventing the like offence in times to come; and I could wish that gentlemen would determine upon some other means answering both these ends.”

In his youth, he had striven to carve out a high destiny for himself with his sword ; but the condition of his country and of Europe forbade it ; for the days of Eugene and Marlborough had passed away, while he was yet too young to gather the fruits of his valor. He had to seek another road to fame, for the unhappy condition of Europe brought clouds and darkness and disappointment across his course.

Mr. Oglethorpe had gone into parliament at twenty-four years of age, and he had been laboring for ten years with zeal and ability. But England, from the death of Queen Anne, had so entangled herself with Germany, that her wealth and her fame had been wasted by ignoble means for ignoble ends. The king only looked to the security of Hanover, and his ministers only looked to the preservation of their places. Did the wise or good attempt to arrest their course, they had only to cry "Popery," and they obtained support ; for if philosophers "teach" that "matter in motion" is "power," experience tells that "mind" under excitement, is like the "scorpion fire," turned upon itself to destroy.

Mr. Oglethorpe became wearied with this profitless labor, and determined to seek in another clime, and in a new world, for objects upon which to employ his time, and spread his affections.

He planned, in the year 1732, a colony, differing from every other undertaking that had originated among men in modern times. A paper entitled, "A true Account of a New Colony, about to be established in America, by several Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants," will best explain the design of himself and associates.

"They petitioned the King in Council for a grant of lands in South Carolina, and liberty to lay out such charities as they themselves should give, or receive from others, — in conveying over and establishing, unfortunate families in America, and that the charities collected may not terminate in the persons first relieved, but extend itself to the latest ages. They proposed to reserve certain portions of land in every township, and a certain small portion of labor, from *every* man within that township, and to apply the product of the reserved land and labor, in supporting the colony, in sending over, and relieving more poor families.

"The petitioners undertake without any benefit to themselves, either in land or otherwise, all the toil of soliciting

charities of clothing, supplying, arming, and supporting a colony of such persons, as they judge to be the most proper subjects of this charity."

The King received graciously their petition, and granted a charter of incorporation to Lord Percival, James Oglethorpe, Edmund Digby, and others.

The patent was dated the 9th of June, 1732, and the new colony was called Georgia. The Trustees contributed largely towards the scheme; and to prevent fraud, determined to deposite the money in the Bank of England, and to keep a book in which the names of the contributors, as well as the sums paid by each should be entered, and to lay an account annually before the Chancellor, and other judges.

Many were the papers, published in England and elsewhere, expressive of approbation and warm admiration of the benevolent intentions of the Trustees in their new scheme of colonization.

Some of these papers are before the writer at this time, but he finds all so condensed and well said, in Dr. Hewatt's *History of South Carolina and Georgia*, that he prefers extracting from Vol. II, pages 17 to 22, what follows: *

"When this scheme of the Trustees with respect to the settlement of Georgia was made public, the well wishers of mankind, in every part of Britain, highly approved of an undertaking so humane and disinterested. To consult the public happiness, regardless of private interest, and to stretch forth a bountiful hand for the relief of distressed fellow creatures, were considered as examples of uncommon benevolence and virtue, and therefore worthy of general imitation. The ancient Romans, famous for their courage and magnanimity, ranked the planting of colonies among their noblest works, and such as added greater lustre to their empire, than their

* Dr. Hewatt was the Presbyterian minister in Charleston before the Revolution. He was a Scotchman, and as most of his congregation were natives of Scotland and retired when the tempest of war began to gather around them, he too returned to England and employed his leisure in compiling this work, from materials he had collected before he left America. He had the advantage of being personally acquainted with General Oglethorpe, and entertained for him, and for his memory, a very high admiration. He published his book in 1779, and had no doubt submitted it to the perusal of the General, who was then enjoying a green old age. Dr. Hewatt was a relation of Mr. Hume and Mr. Mein, formerly of Georgia. He was a man of very mild and gentle temper and manners; and as his book shews of great ability. The friends named in this note made me acquainted with him, and it was from him I heard the warm feelings General Oglethorpe entertained for Georgia. He had no children, and he looked to Georgia as the Theban chief looked to the fields of Leucetra and Mantinea.

most glorious wars and victories. By the latter, old cities were plundered and destroyed ; by the former new ones were founded and established : the latter ravaged the dominions of enemies and depopulated the world — the former improved new territories, provided for unfortunate friends, and added strength to the state. The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation to produce a design more generous and praiseworthy than that they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, their labor and time for promoting what appeared to them the good of others — having themselves nothing for reward, but the inexpressible satisfaction arising from virtuous actions. Among other great ends they had also in view the conversion and civilization of Indian savages. If their public regulations were afterwards found improper and impracticable, — if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed, praise nevertheless is due to them. Human policies at best are imperfect, but when the design appears so evidently good, and disinterested, the candid and impartial part of the world will make many allowances for them. Considering their ignorance of the country, and the many defects that cleave to all codes of laws, even when framed by the wisest legislators.

“About the middle of July 1732, the Trustees for Georgia held their first general meeting, when Lord Percival was chosen president of the corporation. After all the members had qualified themselves, agreeably to the charter, for the faithful discharge of the trust, a common seal was ordered to be made. The devise was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Altamaha and Savannah, the boundaries of the province ; between them the Genius of the colony seated with a cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription “*Colonia Georgia, Augt.*” On the other side was a representation of silk worms, some beginning, and others having finished their web, with the motto “*non sibi sed aliis,*” a very proper emblem, signifying that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first Trustees, nor their successors could have any views of interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others.

“In November following, one hundred and sixteen settlers embarked at Gravesend for Georgia, having their passages

paid, and every thing requisite for building and cultivation furnished them by the corporation. They could not be called adventurers, as they ran no risk but what arose from the change of climate, and as they were to be maintained until by their industry they were able to support themselves.

"James Oglethorpe, one of the Trustees, embarked along with them, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the settlement.

"In the beginning of the year following Oglethorpe arrived in Charleston, where he was received by the Governor and Council in the kindest manner, and treated with every mark of civility and respect.

"Governor Johnstone, sensible of the great advantage that must accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and assistance in his power to forward the settlement. Many of the Carolinians sent them provisions, and hogs and cows to begin their stock.

"William Bull, a man of knowledge and experience, agreed to accompany Mr. Oglethorpe — and the rangers and the scout boats were ordered to attend him to Georgia. After their arrival at Yamacraw, Oglethorpe and Bull explored the country, and having found a high and pleasant spot of ground, situated on a navigable river, they fixed on this place as the most convenient and healthy situation for the settlers.

"On this hill they marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river which ran past it, called it Savannah.

"A small fort was erected on the banks of it, as a place of refuge, and some guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were set to work in felling trees, and building huts for themselves, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them by exposing himself to all the hardships, which the poor objects of his compassion endured.

"He formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers from among themselves, and furnished them with arms and ammunition.

"To show the Indians how expert they were in the use of arms, he frequently exercised them, and as they had been trained before-hand by the serjeants of the Guards, in London, they performed their various parts, in a manner little inferior to regular troops. Having thus put his colony in as good a situation as possible, the next object of his atten-

tion was to treat with the Indians for a share of their possessions.

“The principal tribes that at this time occupied the territory were the upper and the lower Creeks: the former were numerous and strong; the latter, by disease and war were reduced to a smaller number. Both tribes together were computed to amount to about twenty-five thousand, men, women and children. These Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with Governor Nicholson, laid claim to the lands lying south-west of Savannah river, and to procure their friendship for this infant colony, was an object of the highest consequence. But as the tribe of Indians settled at Yamacraw was inconsiderable, Oglethorpe judged it necessary to have the other tribes also, to join with them in the treaty.

“To accomplish this he found an Indian woman named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, and who could speak both the English and Creek language, and perceiving that she had great influence among the Indians, and might be made useful as an interpreter in forming treaties of alliance with them, he therefore first purchased her friendship with presents, and afterwards settled a hundred pounds yearly on her as a reward for her services.

“By her assistance he summoned a general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Savannah, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony.

“At this congress fifty chieftains were present, when Oglethorpe represented to them the great power, wisdom, and wealth of the English nation — and the many advantages that would accrue to the Indians in general from a connection and friendship with them, — and as they had plenty of lands, he hoped they would freely resign a share of them to his people, who were come for their benefit and instruction, to settle among them. After having distributed some presents among them, which must always attend every proposal of friendship and peace, an agreement was made; and then Tomachichi, in the name of the Creek warriors, addressed him in the following manner:

“Here is a little present, and giving him a buffalo skin adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, desired him to accept it — because the eagle was an emblem

of speed, and the buffalo of strength. He told him that the English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast — since like the former they flew over vast seas, to the uttermost parts of the earth, and like the latter they were so strong that nothing could withstand them.

“He said the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love — the buffalo skin was warm and signified protection — and therefore he hoped the English would love and protect their little families.

“Oglethorpe accordingly accepted the present, and after concluding this treaty of friendship with the Indians, and placing his colony in the best posture of defence, he returned to Britain, carrying with him Tomachichi, his queen, and some more Indians.

“On their arrival in London, these Indian chiefs were introduced to his Majesty, while many of the nobility were present. When Tomachichi, struck with astonishment at the grandeur of the British court, addressed the king in the following words :

“This day I see the majesty of your face, the grandeur of your house, and the number of your people. I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself, I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the lower and upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English.

“These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flyeth round our nations. These are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace.

“O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations.”

“To which his Majesty replied. ‘I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come, and I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought from them, and accept very gratefully of this present — an indication of their good disposition to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between the Creeks and my subjects, and shall be glad on any occasion to shew you a mark of my particular friendship.’

“During the whole time these Indians were in England,

nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. After staying four months and seeing the grandeur of the English sovereign, they were carried to Gravesend and embarked for Georgia; highly pleased with the generosity of the nation, and promising eternal fidelity to its interests."

"This generosity and kind method of treating barbarians, was better policy than that of overawing them by force, and was attended, as might have been expected, with the happiest consequences.

"To strengthen the frontier of Carolina, and promote the colony of Georgia, nothing could have been conceived more useful and effectual than a friendly intercourse with these savages in the neighborhood.

"The most proper method of managing them was to secure the friendship of the leading men among them, whose influence however limited by the nature of their government, was nevertheless great, as they always directed the public councils in all affairs relative to peace and war."*

We have thus seen brought to a close the first act of Mr. Oglethorpe's American drama. He had appeared, played his part, and had retired. Every movement evinced the justice, magnanimity, and wisdom of his actions.

Who has not read in an hundred volumes, tributes of praise to the honor and humanity of William Penn? Who

* It will be seen, I take no notice of the report, that Mr. Oglethorpe brought out with him Sir Walter Raleigh's chart, because Dr. Hewatt speaks doubtfully of it, and because the story has, as told, internal evidence of being idle rumor. Quadrants were not then made or in use; and latitude as illy defined in charts as longitude. Sir Walter Raleigh would, in his roving course, scarcely venture into any of our barred inlets which to strangers look alarming, although a great protection to navigation after being known. And again because the Muscogalgees or Creeks, did not occupy the banks of Savannah river in Sir Walter Raleigh's time. They came from the west long afterwards, driving before them the maritime tribes, that they found in the country, among which the Shawnees were supposed one; the Yamasees who have perished within our memory another; and the Uchees are known to have belonged to those ancient maritime tribes. The Creeks considered them slaves; their language is altogether different. They were not allowed in travelling, to encamp on the northern side of the Indian path leading from Fort Hawkins (now Macon) to Montgomery, which for a long time was an Indian highway.

Colonel Hawkins and General Mitchel found it difficult to prevent the Creeks taking away from the Uchees the presents given by the American government, as they considered them still slaves. And finally, the mound the Indians are said to have pointed out as the burial place of their then king, is such as we find in five hundred places upon the coast, and are known by those most learned in Indian lore, to have existed before the present tribes. These barrows extend from Ohio to Florida, though composed of different materials in different countries. They greatly resemble the barrows that spread over the steppes of Tartary.

has not heard his conduct in the first settlement of Pennsylvania, contrasted with the conduct of the first settlers of every other colony? And surely in some instances very unjustly has this contrast been drawn; for Penn had but followed the example of Lord Baltimore at an earlier period, as well in his purchase from the Indians, of the right of soil, as in his treatment of them afterwards. But how will either of them stand, when placed in position with Mr. Oglethorpe? They had obtained grants to themselves, and heirs, from their sovereign, of immense landed estates; and in calming Indian jealousy at their settlement, or preserving peace with them afterwards, they were but pursuing the most obvious and simple mode of making those estates profitable; and Mr. Penn took care before he left England, to extend the bounds of his territory by every means.

Mr. Oglethorpe and his associates tied themselves up, from every possible return for money or time expended, for dangers encountered, or even reputation risked. Penn's territory was flanked by the strong colonies of New York and Maryland, long since established. Mr. Oglethorpe placed himself in the front of danger with nothing behind him but the weak and divided colony of Carolina. He placed himself before the old and strong military colonies of Spain and France; and that too, just as Spain and France were awakening from a lethargy of twenty years, and in their family compact, determined to make one great struggle for dictation over the maritime nations of Europe.

Against these fearful odds, Mr. Oglethorpe took his post, reposing upon the resources of his own mind. Calm in the conviction that to wisdom, time brings opportunity. And we will see in the sequel how he availed himself of this opportunity.

Did Penn persuade the Indians to cede to him a small portion of land and to remain in peace with his colony? — Oglethorpe procured from them willingly, all the land he desired; but he so won upon their affections, that the tribes congregated from hundred of miles around to pledge with him peace, to enter into alliances with him, to tender him the command over them, offering to follow him to war, wheresoever he wished, whether against white or red men.

And if we had no other evidence of the great abilities of Mr. Oglethorpe, but what is offered by this devotion of the

Indian tribes to him, and to his memory, for fifty years afterwards—it is all-sufficient, for it is only master minds that acquire this deep and lasting influence over other men.

Mr. Oglethorpe returned to England in the spring of 1734, having left his people at Savannah, in possession of every thing that was necessary for their comfort, and in the best possible understanding with the Indian settlements around them.

From that time until the end of the year 1735, he was engaged in collecting additional means for extending and strengthening his colony of Georgia. One hundred and thirty Highlanders were sent out under their chief, and settled at New Inverness, near Darien, upon the Alatamaha, and eighty additional Saltzburghers were established with their friends at Ebenezer, upon the Savannah river. Having made every arrangement within his power, and having collected during the year thirty thousand pounds sterling, he embarked again for Georgia; and arrived at Tybee on the 5th of February, bringing with him three hundred additional settlers, and a number of guns for the forts, that had and were to be built.

To show his unwearied diligence in all his operations I will here give a journal of his movements for a few days, published at the time.

“Mr. Oglethorpe passed the bar of Tybee on the 5th, and came to anchor in the road on the 6th. He went to Savannah town, where he ordered a new church to be built, and a wharf for the landing of goods.

“Tomachichi and Tonohowi came to welcome him, and said that the chiefs of the upper and lower Creeks were coming upon the same errand.

“On the 9th he went to Ebenezer where the Saltzburghers were settled; he arrived that night at Purysburgh, and lay at Col. Pury’s house. He went afterwards to the Alatamaha river where the Highlanders are settled, and was in a Highland dress. Here a good bed was provided for him, but he declined it, and lay in the woods with Captain Dunbar.

“He the next day went down to St. Simon’s island, and laid out a fort with four bastions, which he called Frederica; and commenced building it in such a situation that a canoe could not pass without being discovered; and designed

and planned a new town behind the fort. He has ordered another fort to be built seven miles distant, at the sea point of the same island.

"The Spaniards having sent to complain that the Indians fell upon them from all quarters, Mr. Oglethorpe sent two boats to patrol on the river St. Johns to prevent further mischief; and ordered Major Richards to St. Augustine to settle the boundaries with the Spanish Governor."

This frank and prompt mode of acting on the part of Mr. Oglethorpe lead at length to a treaty between himself and the Governor of St. Augustine, of the most satisfactory character, which was signed at St. Augustine on the 26th October, 1736. Mr. Oglethorpe, had in despite of the recognition going on and even concluded, been most diligently employed during the summer, in completing the fortifications at St. Simons island, with the limited means within his control, and without the aid of any military science, except what he himself brought into operation. The fort at Frederica was built of tabby, and was situated at the upper end of a reach of the river, about a quarter of a mile in length. A water battery separated it from the river. Two strong bastions were on the land side — and it was surrounded by a deep intrenchment which admitted the tide. The review ground occupied about one half of the front of the bluff to the east, and the rest of the bluff was covered by a dense oak wood. In front of the centre of this wood a water battery of twelve heavy guns was placed.

In approaching Frederica every ship would have to run down for three quarters of a mile, stem on, upon this water battery, while she would receive an oblique fire from the batteries of this fort. The wood to the east end of the town covered it, and the fort too, from all fire from approaching ships — while the water battery in front of the wood, was too low to receive injury from the fire across the marsh. The wood itself was covered in its whole extent by a deep creek, bordered by a miry marsh of three hundred yards width.

I have been thus particular in describing these works, because it was there I was born — and upon them in my childhood I have sported — and because time, and the elements, and men in pursuit of other objects, have scarcely left a wreck behind. The wood has been transformed into a cotton field.

The river, driven on by hurricanes has swallowed up the water batteries, and much of the fort. The bricks too, have been taken away by spoilers, and the very tabby has been sawn into blocks to erect other buildings.

When in the course of time the writer of this paper has seen many of the defences, provided for other positions by men of great name, his memory has recurred to the recollections of his youth, and in pondering upon the scene, he proudly felt that nowhere, nowhere, had mind, with the limited means under its control, more strongly evinced its power. And it will be seen hereafter, that it was to the great ability shown in the disposition of these works, that not Georgia only, but Carolina owed their preservation; for St. Simons was destined soon to become the Thermopylæ of the southern Anglo American provinces. General Oglethorpe had scarcely concluded his treaty with the governor of St. Augustine, when he received a message from him saying, that a commissioner from the captain general of Cuba, his superior, had arrived there to make certain demands of him, and would proceed to Frederica, which had now become the head quarters of General Oglethorpe. He also learned that the garrison at St. Augustine had been reinforced by additional troops. General Oglethorpe saw that the storm he had anticipated was beginning to collect, and was therefore unwilling that his designs, and his unfinished works should be exposed to the view of his enemy.

The commissioner coming by sea, General Oglethorpe agreed to meet him at the anchorage in Jekyl sound; there they met, and the commissioner required that General Oglethorpe and all British subjects should immediately retire from all territory south of St. Helena sound; as the claims of the king of Spain extended that far; and his master was determined to maintain his right to them. As his orders from the captain general were explicit, argument was unnecessary, and General Oglethorpe embarked for England as speedily as possible.

The parliament of England had the previous year, voted ten thousand pounds, to aid the Trustees in fortifying the province, which had been expended upon the works at Frederica, and the battery at the south end of the island.

But fortifications require men to defend them, and he hurried home with the hope, that as the views of France and

Spain were now fully developed, the government of Great Britain would see the necessity of providing them. In this he was not disappointed, for while the Spanish commissioner from Cuba, had required him to yield the territory as far as the island of St. Helena; the Spanish minister at the court of London, had not only required the surrender of the territory, but also the giving up of General Oglethorpe, as a trespasser upon the right of Spain; as Sir Walter Raleigh had been demanded of Queen Elizabeth.

This demand had excited the indignation of the British people, and aided him in obtaining what he required of the British government. The following is one of many publications that this demand of the Spaniards called forth.

"Daily Post, London, August 23d, 1737.

"The benefit likely to accrue from the settlement of this colony, particularly by the saving of five hundred thousand pounds sent to Piedmont for raw silk, renders it so worthy of attention, that the whole nation unanimously gave into the project; and the ministry gained credit by the warmth with which they recommended it to parliament.

"The country is now in a thriving condition by parliamentary aid, by the generosity of the Trustees; and by the conduct of a gentleman, whose judgment, courage, and indefatigable diligence in the service of his country, have shown him every way equal to so great and glorious an undertaking. For this reason it seems, this public-spirited and valuable man, has now become the butt of the resentment of Spain. Because he has acted like a brave, vigilant and faithful Englishman, at the expense of his repose and his purse, and at the utmost peril of his life.

"The Spanish court has demanded his recall, and that he shall be no longer employed. In this demand we have an undeniable proof that the Spaniards dread the abilities of Mr. Oglethorpe. It is a certificate of his merit, that ought to endear him to every honest Briton.

"I happened to be in France when the settlement of Georgia was begun, and the uneasiness of the French at it, gave me the first idea of its value. They said the Spaniards neither could or would suffer it to go on; and from what I then heard and saw, I am persuaded this late demand of the Catholic court did not take its rise at Madrid, whatever the

Spaniards may say ; it is France that has the greatest interest in the destruction of that colony."

General Oglethorpe arrived in London in the beginning of January 1737, and at a meeting of the Board of Trustees on the 19th of the month, he received the thanks of the Board by unanimous vote.

In reply he stated, "He had left the colony doing well, that the Indians from seven hundred miles distant had confederated with him, and acknowledged the authority of the king of England. That the Creeks and the Cherokees, and Chickasaws traded with Savannah when opportunity offered."

The Creeks and Cherokees, although reconciled to each other by General Oglethorpe, had been so long enemies that when they met in coming down to trade with Savannah, small causes of offence produced hostility, and the firing of hostile guns were sometimes heard in Savannah ; but the offending parties fled from the white man's view, and the wounded were brought into town, healed and sent home.

It was the firm reliance on Indian faith, that permitted General Oglethorpe to leave his infant colony so often, exposed as it was to the secret intrigues and hostilities of Spain and France. For although peace yet continued in Europe, it was only that peace which is employed in sharpening the sword and the spear, and in meditating how, and when, and where they will strike.

The British ministers being at length satisfied that a war with both France and Spain was approaching, at the application of the Trustees of the province of Georgia late in August 1737, appointed Mr. Oglethorpe "Brigadier General," and directed him to raise a regiment for the protection of the colony. His military command was extended over South Carolina.

General Oglethorpe was engaged from that time until the summer of 1738, in recruiting and training his men for foreign service. On the first of July, himself and regiment, seven hundred strong, embarked for Georgia. And as it is always interesting to read the journals of older times, I will extract from one that is now before me.

"General Oglethorpe and the troops that came over with him were all landed at the Soldiers' Fort, at the south end of St. Simonds, on the 19th of September, and were saluted.

by all the cannon. The General encamped near the fort, and stayed until the 21st, to forward the disembarkation, and give necessary orders. The regiment is complete and every officer at his post.

"On the 21st of September the General came up to Frederica and was saluted by fifteen guns from the fort in the town. The magistrates and townsmen waited upon him in a body, to congratulate him upon his arrival. The inhabitants went out on the 25th with the General at their head, and cut a road through the woods, down to the Soldiers' Fort at the south end. They performed this work in three days, although the woods are very thick, and near six miles.*

"Several Indians are come to town ; they report that the chief men from every town in the upper and lower Creek nation will set out from their towns to see him, as soon as they hear of his arrival.

"On the 8th of October two soldiers that had enlisted in London, and who had deserted formerly from Gibraltar, made an attack upon the life of General Oglethorpe, but were immediately killed by the swords of his officers. On the 18th he set out for Savannah."

Thus far for Frederica.

The following letter is of the same period, from Savannah.

Savannah, October 23d, 1738.

"General Oglethorpe set out from Frederica on the 18th

*This road, after passing out of the town of Frederica, in a south-east direction, entered a beautiful prairie of a mile over, when it penetrated a dense close oak wood ; keeping the same course for two miles, it passed to the eastern marsh that bounded St. Simons seaward. Along this marsh, being dry and hard, no road was necessary, and none was made. This natural highway was bounded on the east by rivers and creeks, and impracticable marshes ; it was bounded on the west, (the island side) by a thick wood covered with palmetto and vines of every character so as to be impracticable for any body of men, and could only be travelled singly and alone. This winding way along the marsh was continued for two miles, when it again passed up to the high land which had become open and clear, and from thence it proceeded in a direct line to the fort, at the sea entrance, around which for two hundred acres, five acre allotments of land for the soldiers had been laid out, cleared and improved. I have again been thus particular in my description because it was to the manner in which this road was laid out and executed, that General Oglethorpe owed the preservation of the fort and town of Frederica. The simple writer of the letter I have quoted from Frederica, perhaps little knew that General Oglethorpe was thinking of the enemy, while he was tracing this road through the woods and along the marshes. His fort and batteries at Frederica was so situated as to water approaches, and so covered by a wood that no number of ships could injure them. And he now planned his land route in such a manner, that again the dense wood of our eastern islands became a rampart mighty to save. And fifty Highlanders and four Indians occupying *these woods did save.*

of October, in an open boat, with two other boats attending him, and after rowing two days and two nights, arrived at Savannah. On the 20th he was received by the magistrates at the water side and saluted by the cannon and militia under arms. The people spent the night in rejoicing, making bonfires, &c., &c."

On the 21st Tomachichi came to wait upon the General. He said he had been very ill, but the old man was so rejoiced at the General's arrival that he said it recovered him. He acquainted the General that the chiefs of several towns of the Creek nation were at his house, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to assure him of their fidelity to the King of Great Britain.

On the 23d the Indians came down the river from Tomachichi's house, viz., the Mico (which word translated is King,) of the Chickasaws, the Mico of the Ocmulgees, the Mico of the Uchees, with thirty of their warriors, and fifty-two of their attendants. As they walked up the hill they were saluted by a battery of cannon, and conducted to the town hall by a party of militia, where the General received them. On their seeing the General they expressed great joy, and said the Spaniards had strove to persuade them that the General was at St. Augustine, and invited them down to his fort to see him there, where they accordingly went, but as soon as they found the General was not there they returned, though the Spaniards offered them great rewards, and pretended he was on board of a ship in the harbor, sick.

General Oglethorpe was diligently employed during the winter of 1738, and the spring of '39, in placing the province of Georgia in the best condition for defence that time and his means permitted, as war between England on the one side, and France and Spain on the other had become inevitable. Among these means he considered his Indian alliances first, not from any actual force that they could bring into the field, either for offensive or defensive war, but because while they remained faithful to their engagements, the French of Louisiana and West Florida would be cautious how they weakened their own provinces, to aid Spain in carrying out her claims upon Georgia and Carolina.

As the best means of accomplishing this end, he determined to attend in person a great council of the Indian

tribes, that was to assemble in the July and August of the year 1739, at Coweta town, now Fort Mitchell, on the Chat-tahouchee; and in July he proceeded there, not in military pomp or force, but simply with a few pack horses and servants for his personal accommodation, and to carry presents for his red friends.

When we call into remembrance the then force of these tribes, — for they could have brought into the field twenty thousand fighting men, — when we call to remembrance the influence the French had everywhere else obtained over the Indians, — when we call to remembrance the distance he had to travel through solitary pathways from Frederica, exposed to summer suns, night dews, and to the treachery of any single Indian, who knew, and every Indian knew the rich reward that would have awaited him for the act from the Spaniards in St. Augustine, or the French in Mobile; surely we may proudly ask, what soldier ever gave higher proof of courage? What gentleman ever gave greater evidence of magnanimity? What English governor of an American province, ever gave such assurance of deep devotion to public duty.

General Oglethorpe was received at Coweta by the assembled chiefs that were deputed to meet him, from the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, with the warmest friendship and devotion. They declared that they remained firm in love to the king of Great Britain, and all his people. They renewed and confirmed all the treaties they had formerly made with him. In their new treaty the Creeks still reserved the small territory between Pipe-maker's Creek and Savannah, that when they came to see their white friends, they might sleep upon their own ground, and the islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherine's, and Sapelo, that they might fish and bathe in their own waters.

General Oglethorpe smoked with them the hallowed pipe of peace, drank with them the medicine drink, and was initiated by the medicine men into their mysteries. While with them he received communications from New York, informing him that the French were descending the Ohio and Mississippi to attack the Chickasaws. The Council separated in haste, with pledges of faith and friendship to prepare for war with the common enemy.

While General Oglethorpe was yet in Savannah, before his return to Frederica from the Indian council, he lost his

first and most devoted Indian friend. Tomachichi departed to join his fathers in the land of spirits; and we will follow him to his grave, in the recorded events of the day.

Savannah, October 10th, 1739.

"King Tomachichi died on the 5th instant, at his own town, four miles from hence, of a lingering illness, being aged about ninety-seven. He was sensible to his last moment, and when he was persuaded that his death was near, he shewed the greatest magnanimity and sedateness, and exhorted his people never to forget the favors he had received when in England; but to persevere in their friendship to the English. He expressed the greatest tenderness for General Oglethorpe, and seemed to have no concern at dying, but its being at a time when he might have been useful against the Spaniards.

"He desired that his body might be buried amongst the English at Savannah, where it lies. He had prevailed upon the Creeks to give the land and had assisted in founding the town.

"The corpse was brought down by water. The General, attended by the magistrates and people, met it upon the water's edge. The corpse was carried into Percival square. It was followed by the General and the Indians, the magistrates and the people of the town: Minute guns were fired from the battery all the time of the burial. The General has ordered a pyramid of the iron stones which are dug in the neighborhood, to be erected over him."*

Tomachichi was a chief, and in his youth a great warrior. He had an excellent judgment, and a very ready wit, which showed itself in all his speeches. He was very generous, giving away all the rich presents he had received, and living himself in poverty. But we ask where is his tomb? Savannah owes it to herself, she owes it to the memory of General Oglethorpe, she owes it to her first friend among red men.

Immediately after the funeral of Tomachichi General Ogle-

* A very few days after giving the order, the Spaniards made the first attack upon his advanced post at Amelia Island, and he was engaged in great and dangerous and difficult operations, against an enemy commanding at will twice his available means. Nor did he from that hour until he finally left Georgia, know one day of calm repose, one day in which the mind is allowed to fall back upon itself in the full enjoyment of a sabbath of rest.

thorpe returned to Frederica, and we extract from a journal of the day what follows :

"Frederica, November 15th, 1739.

"Advice is just received from Amelia Island that the Spaniards landed at night, and murdered two Highlanders in the woods that had gone out of the fort unarmed, but upon the party in the fort going out, the Spaniards fled."

At this point commenced the war with Spain in Georgia, and General Oglethorpe began to collect around him his very inadequate means for the invasion of Florida, under the deep conviction that if he did not carry the war into Florida, St. Augustine would become a nucleus around which troops from Cuba and Mexico and the other powerful and adjacent provinces of Spain would congregate to overwhelm and destroy his yet feeble colony.

The following was known to be the condition of the fortifications at St. Augustine at this time :

The castle is built of soft stone, with four bastions, the curtain sixty yards in length, the parapet nine feet thick, the rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for lodgings, arched over and newly made bomb-proof, and they have for some time past been working on a covert way, which is nearly finished. This fort has fifty pieces of cannon mounted on it, sixteen of which are brass and twenty-four pounders. The town is entrenched with ten salient angles, in each of which are some cannon. The number of troops now there are thirteen hundred and twenty-four regulars, besides the militia of the town, and a few Spanish Indians.

General Oglethorpe received orders in January, 1740, to make hostile movements against Florida, with an assurance from Sir Robert Walpole's administration, that Admiral Vernon, after having made a demonstration of his force in the West Indies, should be at hand to coöperate with him. He himself believed, that, when war is necessary "the great and not the little war," should be resorted to; and having heard, by a deserter, that St. Augustine was in want of provisions, he determined to make that his point of attack.

Carolina had twice recently been upon the verge of ruin by the insurrection of her slaves, instigated by the black emissaries who had formerly run away from the province, and who were detained at St. Augustine for the express purpose of being employed upon such occasions. Looking to her

own interest, he could not doubt that Carolina would enter with zeal into the enterprize, and give every aid in her power. He communicated his intention, therefore, to Lieutenant Governor Bull; and as success could only be hoped for by taking the enemy by surprise, and before he was supplied with additional means, and men from Cuba, (the then head and centre of Spanish American power,) he proceeded to Charleston, to arrange with Governor Bull the means and order of attack. The assembly were warmed into action by his presence, and voted £120,000 (equal to about \$70,000) and 400 men for the expedition. The men were placed under the command of Colonel Vanderdussen. Captain Price, with four sloops of war of twenty guns each, consented to coöperate in the attack. And the river St. John's, in Florida, was determined upon as the point of reunion, after each should have performed the task assigned them.

Having accomplished all that was in his power, and having impressed upon Governor Bull the absolute necessity of prompt and immediate action, he returned to Frederica, to join his own regiment, and prepare all under his control for the expedition.

The Carolina regiment, under Colonel Vanderdussen, reached Darien, the first of May; where they were joined by General Oglethorpe's favorite corps, the Highlanders, ninety strong, commanded by Captain McIntosh and Lieutenant McKay. They were ordered, accompanied by his Indian force, to march promptly for the Cow-ford, (now Jacksonville) upon the river St. Johns. This route was familiar to the Carolinians, who had maintained small military posts, before General Oglethorpe's occupancy of Georgia, as far south as the St. Mary's river. And the Cow-ford is the only point where men, proceeding by land, can conveniently pass the river. General Oglethorpe embarked four hundred of his regiment at Frederica, on the third of May, in galleys and flat bottomed boats, with his stores, ammunition and provisions, to take the route by the inland passage for Florida. He had been compelled, of necessity, to leave three hundred of his own regiment at Frederica and the intermediate points, under the command of Major Horton, to garrison his works; lest the enemy, hearing of his movements, should pass into his rear, and destroy his now feeble and disarmed colony.

In six days he had wound his way through the creeks and

marshes that intervened between Frederica and St. John's Bluff, three miles above the sea-mouth of the river, with his galleys and his loaded boats. Who is there, that is familiar with this intricate and perplexed navigation, that will not wonder at his expedition? But the Carolina troops, as he learned from his Indian runners, had not arrived at the Cow-ford; and it was upon this force, accompanied by his Highlanders, and his Indians, that he had rested for a rapid movement upon St. Augustine, sweeping away and destroying whatever of provisions, or other supplies, they might find in their way, and cutting off the retreat of the garrison at Fort Diego, a post about equidistant from St. Augustine and the river St. John's. Disappointed in this expectation, and knowing his plans were now developed to the enemy, he had reluctantly to move forward to Fort Diego, that he might save every hour, precious to him for many reasons, — as well because the enemy had time to collect his means, and strengthen his defences, as because the ninth of May had arrived; when the sun in the latitude of twenty-nine, was pouring the strength of his rays upon them. On the tenth of May, he invested Fort Diego, which immediately surrendered, and was garrisoned with sixty men under Lieutenant Dunbar. This post was important, not only as considerably in advance, but because Diego is directly on the way to St. Augustine, and because it communicates safely and easily with the river St. John's by a fine navigable water, called Poplar creek; and it was in this water that his boats were to be sheltered, and by this creek much of his provisions and *materiel* for offensive war was to be conveyed.

Having occupied Fort Diego, he returned to the St. John's and passed up to the Cow-ford, where the Carolina regiment, and Captain McIntosh's Highlanders, that accompanied them, had at last arrived. Without an intimate knowledge of localities, men with the best information, and the best intentions, are liable to fall into errors in the recital of the operations of war; and it is this circumstance that gives such a precious value to the memoranda of men, who, like Xenophon, or Cæsar, or Frederick, only write what they themselves have done. There are many accounts of the operations of General Oglethorpe against St. Augustine; none of them, to the word, correct. But we believe Doctor Hewatt's by far the best. Any errors he has fallen into, have arisen

from a want of knowledge of the localities, for the peculiarity of these have rendered Florida one of the most defensible countries in America. The Florida then held by the Spanish forces, was girdled by the river St. John's, (called by the Spaniards the Lagunas of St. Juan.) Between this girdle of lakes, and the sea, all was sterile. No cultivated fields gave nourishment to man; no flocks wandered through the wilds, to minister to his wants. Even the buffalo was not within this peninsula, or had been driven away by the sound of Spanish cannon, which had been heard for more than a century around St. Augustine.*

But we will take up the narrative of Dr. Hewatt, claiming to correct the little we believe to be wrong, from the narrative of one who was himself an actor in the scene. "On the 9th of May, 1740, the General passed over to Florida with four hundred select men of his regiment and a considerable party of Indians, and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort about twenty-five miles from St. Augustine; which after a short resistance surrendered by capitulation. In this fort he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdus-sen with the Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders under Captain McIntosh. But by this time six Spanish half-galleys, with long, brass nine-pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into harbor at St. Augustine. A few days afterwards the General marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, (nine hundred soldiers and eleven hundred Indians) regulars, provincials, and Indians, to fort Moosa, situated within two miles of St. Augustine; which on his approach, the Spanish garrison evacuated, and retired into the town. He immediately ordered the gates of this fort to be burnt, three breaches to be made in its walls, and then proceeded to reconnoitre the town and castle.

* Major Long, and other writers, have made it a question whether the buffalo existed in the Atlantic States south of North Carolina. But at the first settlement of Georgia they were as abundant in this country as they afterwards were in Kentucky, or any where west. Colonel William McIntosh, the brother of General Lachland McIntosh, my grandfather, has often told me he has seen ten thousand buffaloes in a herd, between Darien and Sapelo river. Governor Troup's grandfather had two tame buffaloes at Marlo, on Sapelo river. My father, whose Indian establishments (as Bartram's book shews) extended from St. Illa river to St. Marks, was constantly supplied with buffalo tongues, until as late as 1774, as my mother has often stated to me.

"The General now plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the castle by storm, would cost him dear before he could reduce the place; and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war, which were now lying at anchor off St. Augustine bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and try to shut up every channel by which provisions could be conveyed to the garrison. For this purpose he left Col. Palmer, with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians, at Fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods around the town, and intercept all supplies of cattle from the country by land; and for the safety of his men, he at the same time, ordered him to encamp every night in a different place, to keep strict watch around his camp, and by all means to avoid coming to any action. This small party was the whole force the General left for guarding the land side. Then he sent Col. Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, above a mile distant from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himself, with his regiment and the greater part of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia. In this island the Spaniards had a small party of men stationed for a guard, who immediately fled to town; and as it lay opposite to the castle from this place, the General resolved to bombard the town. Capt. Pierce stationed one of his ships to guard the passage by way of the Matanzas, and with the others blocked up the mouth of the harbor; so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. On the island of Anastatia batteries were soon erected, and several cannon mounted, by the assistance of the active and enterprising sailors. The opportunity now lost of surprising the place, he had no other secure method left but to attack it at the distance in which he then stood. For this purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit both from the Spanish fort, and from six half galleys in the harbor; but so great was the distance, that, though they continued the cannonade for several days, little execution was done on either side. Capt. Warren, a brave naval officer, perceiving that all efforts in this way for demolishing the castle were vain and ineffectual, proposed

to destroy the Spanish galleys in harbor, by an attack in the night; and offered to go himself and head the attempt. A council of war was held to consider of, and concert a plan for that service; but upon sounding the bar, it was found it would admit no large ships to the attack, and with small ones it was judged rash and impracticable, the galleys being covered by the cannon of the castle, and therefore that design was dropped. In the mean time the Spanish commander, observing the besiegers embarrassed, and their operations beginning to relax, sent out a detachment of three hundred (six hundred) "men against Col. Palmer; who surprised him at Fort Moosa, and while most of his party lay asleep, cut them almost entirely to pieces. A few, that accidentally escaped, went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickasaw Indians, coming from that fort, having met with a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeably to their savage manner of waging war, and presented it to the General in his camp; but he rejected it with abhorrence, calling them barbarous dogs, and bidding them be gone. At this disdainful behavior, however, the Chickasaws were offended, declaring that if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would not have treated them so; and perhaps the General discovered more humanity than good policy by it, for those Indians, who knew none of the European customs and refinements in war, soon deserted him. About the same time, the vessels stationed at the Matanzas being ordered off, some small ships from the Havanna with provisions, and a reinforcement of men, got into St. Augustine, by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garrison. A party of Creeks, having surprised one of their small boats, brought four Spanish prisoners to the General, who informed him that the garrison had received seven hundred men, and a large supply of provisions. Thus all prospect of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender.

"The Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies.

"The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of hurricanes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard his Majesty's ships by remaining longer on that coast.

"Last of all, the General himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue, and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret followed, and reached Frederica about the 10th of July, 1740."

This detail is a little complexioned by the men who lost caste in Carolina with their high and gallant countrymen for having fled without fighting from St. Augustine; for the morning after the attack upon fort Moosa, the entire regiment under Col. Vanderdussen fled, the Colonel leading the rout; nor did he arrest his flight until night overtook him, thirty miles from St. Augustine.*

And here we will pause to look back upon what had passed. And now that we are well acquainted with the scene of operations, we must be filled with wonder that General Oglethorpe should have been able, with his four hundred remaining soldiers and a few faithful Indians, to have made good his retreat to Frederica, not only without loss, but without pursuit, before an enemy of three times his number, and flushed with victory over the gallant men who died at Fort Moosa.†

When General Oglethorpe left Charleston, he had requested and expected (as the ships of war were ready for service) that Captain Price would at once proceed, or send

* See George Cadovan's Letter, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, 1740.

† William McIntosh, the eldest son of John More McIntosh, named after his grand-uncle, Brigadier General William McIntosh, who commanded the Highlanders in the rising of 1715, was not quite fourteen years of age when his father marched from Darien. He wished to accompany his father, but was refused. He pursued the moving columns, and overtook them at Barrington. His father sent him back the next day with an armed guard. He then took a small boat and passed up to Clarke's bluff, on the south side of the Altamaha. He intended to keep in the rear until the troops had crossed the St. Mary's river. He soon fell in with seven Indians who knew him, (for Darien was then the great rendezvous of the Indians) and he had acquired something of their language. The Indians were greatly attached to the Highlanders, not only as being the soldiers of their beloved man, General Oglethorpe, but because of their wild manners, of their manly sports, of their eastern costume, so much resembling their own. The young soldier was received and caressed by them. They entered into all his views. Following after the advancing troops, they told him every thing that passed in the white man's camp; but carefully concealed his presence among them, until after the passage of the St. Mary's, when, with much triumph they led him to his father, and said, "that he was a young warrior, and would fight; that the great Spirit would watch over his life, for he loved young warriors." The ruling passion could no longer be restrained. He followed his father's footsteps until he saw him fall, covered with many wounds, at fort Moosa. But the great Spirit did watch over him most miraculously. For when he saw his father fall, he was so transfixed with horror, that not until a Spanish officer laid hold upon his plaid, was he roused to action. Light and elastic as a steel bow, he slipped from under the grasp of this officer, and made his escape with the wreck of the corps. It was from the lips of this gentleman (my aged grandfather) I learned much of what I know respecting General Oglethorpe, and the times and the things of that day.

some ships to take position before St. Augustine, or south of it, so as to intercept all communication with, or supplies from Cuba. If this had been done, the six galleys and the additional forces, which accompanied them, would have been intercepted or captured.

He gave his right wing, that marched by land, two days the start of him ; and moving as they did with a cloud of Indians around them, he had just reason to suppose they would have been at the Cow-ford, a point nearer to St. Augustine, the day before he reached St. John's bluff; that, crossing over at this point, the whole peninsula between St. Augustine and the river St. John's would have been swept before his Indian allies and his light troops, by the time he had landed his men and munitions at the mouth of the river. This movement, by separate columns, and collapsing upon the point of attack, is now familiar to every military man ; for it was the plan of Bonaparte at Ulm, at Madrid, and elsewhere. And such was the tactic of General Oglethorpe in his advance upon St. Augustine, and it only failed because there was a want of coöperation in the several parts. One object, however, was obtained by this display of his means ; the meditated attack upon Frederica was postponed for two years. The Spaniards felt that, although his Indian allies had been of no value to him in the investment of an embattled castle and an entrenched town, they would be efficient in the defence of a country covered with wood, and giving field for stratagem, ambuscade and surprise ; and they waited therefore in the hope that time might lessen or destroy this union.

General Oglethorpe thus had a short space allowed him to turn his attention to the internal government and improvement of his colony ; and many a monument yet remains to show the ability and zeal with which he did so. War had called off his attention from Savannah, and he had fixed his residence at Frederica, the extreme southern point of his government. Yet all that he did there, still shows the science that enlightened his mind, and the taste that presided over it. At Frederica, General Oglethorpe's object was different. He was establishing a military post, and had to compact his means. There were no extended squares, and no broad streets, but his esplanade and parade ground. To the south of the fort the streets I think were about forty feet. There were no trees in them ; trees would have been in the way of military

movements. The houses were all either of brick or tabby,* the best and cheapest material that has ever been employed by man, for the erection of permanent or even beautiful buildings, with moderate means. For being soft and plastic when first mixed, he fashions it to his will, and it hardens to the form he stamps upon it.

St. Simon's was then covered with a thick and ponderous oak wood. None of this wood was cut away except around his fort, at the south end of the island, which was laid off into five acre lots for the troops who occupied it, and some small space around the works at Frederica at unexposed points north east of the town. It may be remembered, in describing the road executed immediately after the General's arrival with his troops, it was stated that the road entered a beautiful prairie of a mile over. Upon the shore of that prairie, just where the road entered the wood, General Oglethorpe established his own humble homestead. It consisted of a cottage, a garden, and an orchard for oranges, figs and grapes.† The house was overshadowed by oaks of every variety. It looked to the westward across the prairie (which

*Tabby (not tappy, as some have named it) is a mixture of lime, sand, and shells, or lime, sand and gravel, or lime, sand and stones, in equal proportions, with an equal proportion of water to mix the mass. This mass, well mixed together, is placed between two boards, kept apart by wooden plugs, with double heads, of a length proportionate to the thickness of the intended wall. These planks or boards may run all around your building, rising about one foot at a time. When your tabby mass, being placed between these planks, and settled down with a spade or rammer, has two or three days to harden, the planks are taken away by drawing out the plugs. You may generally with safety go with this wall two rounds or feet a week in the summer, covering over your work in stormy or rainy weather. The task I have required in this work is thirty cubic feet per day, to mix the material, fill in, and settle down, within the plank moulds. This is about equal, in quantity of wall, to six hundred common bricks, the laying of which alone, exclusive of the cost of the bricks, would be quite equal to the mixing and placing the tabby wall, moving the boxes, &c. &c. Nor is there any comparison in beauty or durability between a brick wall and a tabby wall so constructed, after time has been given for cementing the matter. The whole becomes a mass of stone almost imperishable under the operations of time, and only to be re-dissolved by fire. It is supposed from Roman story, that the walls of Saguntum, around which Hannibal and the Scipios battled, were built of tabby. It is known that there are many walls of this material in Spain, which have resisted the elements for many centuries. John Gray Jackson, the late Consul General in Morocco, speaks of a tower at Mogadore, which is known to be eleven hundred years old, and which is now as firm and beautiful as when first erected. This was the material which General Oglethorpe employed in all his civil and military works; and why men coming after him did not continue to do so, I know not.

† This cottage, and fifty acres of land attached to it, was all the landed domain General Oglethorpe reserved to himself, and after the General went to England, it became the property of my father; so that I am only describing a scene, travelled over by infant footsteps, and stamped upon my earliest recollections. After the Revolutionary war, the buildings being destroyed, my father sold this little property. But the oaks were only cut down within four or five years past, and the elder people of St. Simon's yet feel as if it were sacrilege, and mourn their fall.

was the common pasturage of the herds of the town), upon the entrenched town and fort, and upon the beautiful white houses, which had risen up as by the enchanter's will. Can imagination go back, and recall a hero and a statesman, reposing under the shades of these oaks, in the twilight of a summer evening, and not feel that if pleasurable sensations belong to humanity, they might be enjoyed by such a man, at such an hour? And what though in time the spoiler came? The hand of unjust power first tore the soldier from his embattled hall; fire fell upon his dwelling, when there was none to arrest its force; and the smouldering ruin and the ivy wall are all that now remain to tell where General Oglethorpe lived, or how he labored. Happily, he was far away, and did not see the ruin; and memory in age delights to recall, not the dark, not the gloomy, but the bright hours of the past.

At General Oglethorpe's cottage, a road diverged due east, passing in about half a mile to the seat of Captain Raymond Deméré, one of the oldest officers of the regiment. This gentleman was a French Huguenot of considerable fortune, much of which he expended in ornamenting a country seat, rather in the French taste than the English, or rather the taste of that day. At Harrington Hall, the seat of Captain Deméré, the enclosures were entirely of orange or cassina, a species of *Ilex*, but the most beautiful of the family, with small fleshy leaves intensely green. The plant is covered during winter with berries of vermilion red, of a waxen softness, and almost transparent. For fifty years after the death of Captain Deméré these hedges, in much of their beauty, continued to prompt experiment, and to invite others to improvement. If the cassina hedges are even now all gone, they must have perished by the rude axe, in the hands of ruder men, and not by time.

St. Simon's, then, in its better day, was peopled with a thousand men. There was civilization and the arts; and above, below, and all around, nature was fresh and free, and in her wildest mood. There was health too as well as enjoyment here, and the soldiers of General Oglethorpe, while at St. Simon's, were exempt from sickness. Even at Darien, upon the Alatomaha, the Highlanders posted there, did not know a fever for many years.

But the time of repose for General Oglethorpe was pass-

ing away. The Spaniards had taken two years to prepare their means, and were coming, as they believed, with overwhelming force, to seek him in his strong hold. In the beginning of May, 1742, he was informed by Capt. Hamer, of the Flamborough sloop of war, that, cruising south, he had discovered a considerable Spanish fleet, filled with troops, that he had kept them in view until he had discovered their destination to be St. Augustine. General Oglethorpe, knowing that so large a force could only be intended for an attack upon Frederica, communicated with Governor Glen, and requested every aid that could be afforded from South Carolina. He despatched a vessel to the West Indies to notify Admiral Vernon of the expected invasion. From neither of these did he receive any assistance, and he was basely left alone to meet the unequal contest.

We have had published two recitals of the operations of the Spaniards against General Oglethorpe and his forces; Major McCall amplifying the details of Dr. Hewatt. But believing every one prefers the narrative of the day, and the reflections of the time, we will give two letters, which contain something like a journal of General Oglethorpe's operations during the Spanish invasion of Frederica, and for a few days after their retreat.

Extract from a letter from Mr. J. Smith, on board the Success Frigate; dated the 14th of July, 1742.

"On June the 20th, three days after our arrival in Georgia, we were alarmed by some small vessels being seen off the harbor of St. Simon's, which we took to be Spaniards. The next day, we were informed that the enemy, with eleven galleys, were in Cumberland sound, about twenty miles south of St. Simon's, where we lay; upon which the General, with two companies of soldiers in three boats, went to the relief of Fort William upon Cumberland island, so that crossing Cumberland sound, the galleys, full of men, bore down upon him. He began the engagement with his own boat's crew, and exchanged several volleys. In the mean time, two galleys engaged one of the General's boats, with fifty men, commanded by Lieutenant Folson, who bore away, and left the General, with the other two boats, engaged. But they bravely fought their way through, and got to Fort William. On the 24th, the General returned with a

company of soldiers, leaving all well at Fort William, when he arrested Lieutenant Folson for sailing away from him when engaged with the enemy.

"Soon after thirty-two sail of vessels, large and small, came to anchor off the bar, hoisting Spanish colors; where they lay five days, but sent their small vessels to sound the bar. Fourth of July, they came too in the right way of the channel, so that we expected to be attacked the next day. The General came on board of us, and made a speech to the seamen, calling upon them to stand by their liberties and our country. For himself, he was prepared for all dangers. He knew the enemy were more numerous far; but he relied upon the valor of his men, and he did not doubt, with the aid of God, they would be victorious. Fifth; the Spanish vessels stood in. They were warmly received by the fort and vessels; but passed on to Gascoin's bluff, where they landed five thousand men.*

When General Oglethorpe found that his batteries could produce no effect upon the Spanish ships, from the distance at which they kept from his fort, he signalled his ships to run up to Frederica for security, deliberately spiked his guns, blew up part of the fort, but left some light troops and Indians posted in the woods where the road commenced, and retired to Frederica; from whence we will again take up the journal of the day.

"Frederica, July 9th, 1742.

"General Oglethorpe arrived here on the 6th, at day-break, without the loss of a man. The same day the Creek

* Gascoin's bluff could not be defended, as well from its extent, being more than a mile in length, as because a broad river approached it from the south; while another river of still greater magnitude, going round an island of marsh in front of it, came down in an opposite direction. General Oglethorpe had wisely, therefore, not looked to it in his defences; but left all the obstacles that intervened between that position and Frederica in their natural state; and these were many. This bluff was in truth a peninsula, separated by a creek, bordered by miry marshes, and leading in an intense scrub and wood, which obtruded between the bluff and the body of the island, and which only left free approach to it by open ground, leading to the southern beach where General Oglethorpe's southern position was.

The Spaniards, then, upon landing at Gascoin's bluff, moved down in force upon the batteries; which had been abandoned, the guns spiked, and the garrison drawn back into the wood, a mile in the rear of the open fields attached to the fort. The Spanish camp was at the fort, and around it; the ships stretched along from the fort to Gascoin's bluff, which was only four miles by water from Frederica. But happily these four miles afforded good means upon which military stratagem might repose. The last great bend in approaching Frederica was so complex as to have been named the Devil's Elbow, and just at the point of this elbow an abrupt oyster bank rises up in the midst of the channel. No wind will bring a vessel through this bend, without making a tack at this point; and at this point she would be under fire from both his lower batteries, and the oblique fire of his town batteries.

Indians brought in five Spanish prisoners. On the 7th the rangers came in, and gave an account that the enemy was within a mile. The General took the first horse he found, and took the Highland company, and ordered sixty from the guard to follow him. He himself galloped with the Indians to the place, just within the wood, where he found Captain Sebastian Santo and Captain Magaleto with a hundred and twenty-five Spanish troops, and forty-five Spanish Indians.

"Captain Grey, with his Chickasaws, Captain Jones, of Savannah, with Tomachichi and Creek Indians, and the General with six Highland men, who outran the rest of the company, immediately attacked the Spaniards.

"Captain Magaleto was killed, Captain Sebastian Santo taken, and the Spaniards entirely defeated. The General took two Spaniards with his own hands, and after pursuing near a mile, where he halted, he posted his troops to advantage in the wood; then came hither to order the regiments and companies to march. On his returning with his troops towards the late field of action, he met three platoons in great disorder, who gave him an account that they had been broken by the Spaniards, who were extremely numerous. Notwithstanding which he rallied them, rode on, and to his great satisfaction found that Lieut. Southerland and Lieut. McKay, with the Highlanders, had entirely defeated the enemy, who consisted of six hundred men. Don Antonio Barbara, who commanded them, was made prisoner, but mortally wounded in the action. There was one Captain, one Corporal, and sixteen Spaniards taken, and about one hundred and fifty killed.

"July 8th, before day-break, the General advanced with a party of Indians to the Spanish camp at St. Simon's, and found them all retired into the old fort, under the cannon of their men-of-war.

"On the 9th and 10th all hands were employed on the works at Frederica, and the Indians brought us some scalps and prisoners.

"On the 11th, a cutter and two galleys came within gunshot of the town; but on our firing some bombs and guns from the fort, and the General going towards them with his boats, they returned to their fleet.

"The next morning, being the 12th, an English prisoner escaped from them, who informed us that the enemy on their

landing, had resolved on giving no quarter; but from the day their grenadiers were defeated, they had been in great terror, had entrenched themselves, and given orders that no one should go without their sentinels, for fear of being surprized by the Indians.

"There was great disunion among them; insomuch that Don Antonio de Rodondo, who commanded the Cuba forces, encamped separately from those of St. Augustine; and that the Commodore had ordered all his seamen on board.

"That night the General, with five hundred men, marched within a mile of the enemy's camp, intending to surprise them, but was prevented by the treachery of a Frenchman, who fired his piece, gave the alarm to the enemy, and then deserted to them. When the General found his intentions discovered to the enemy, he ordered all his drums to beat the grenadier's march, and then returned to Frederica.

"The next day, being the 13th, in order to defeat the information of the French deserter, he directed a letter to be written, and sent it by a Spanish prisoner, who, for a reward, and his liberty, undertook to deliver it to the said Frenchman; who was instructed to acquaint the enemy's commanding officer of the defenceless state of Frederica, and encourage them to come up by water under his pilotage. This letter the Spanish prisoner delivered to the governor of St. Augustine; and it had so good an effect that the Frenchman was immediately put into irons.

"The next morning the Spaniards burned the barracks and officers' houses at St. Simon's, and Major Horton's house on Jekyl Island; and the same night they reëmbarked with so much precipitation, that they left a quantity of ammunition, provisions, and some guns behind them.

"The 13th, all the large vessels with the Cuba forces, sailed to the southward, and the Governor and troops from St. Augustine, on board the small craft, went within land, and encamped at St. Andrew's, and caught fifty horses with a design to carry them away; but on the General's appearing in his boats, the enemy shot the horses, and burned the fort and houses at St. Andrew's.

"On the 16th, the General followed the Spaniards with all his small craft, but was not strong enough to attack them. He landed a man out of his boat on Cumberland; who that night passed the enemy's camp, and early the next day

came to fort William, with advice to Ensign Stuart that the Spaniards were beat off from St. Simon's, and that the General was coming with succors, and ordered him to defend the fort to the utmost.*

"The 18th, twenty-eight sail of Spanish vessels appeared off Fort William, fourteen of which came within land, and attacked the fort from their galleys and other vessels, and attempted landing; but were repulsed by a party of rangers from behind the sand hills. Ensign Stuart, who commanded in the fort with sixty men, defended it so bravely that after an attack of upwards of three hours, they were obliged to put to sea with considerable loss. The eighteen pounders disabled two of their galleys.

"The 19th, the General was on his way to Fort William. The 20th, he arrived there, and sent his boats and rangers as far as the river St. John's, who returned the next day with advice that the enemy was quite gone. Upon which the General gave orders for the repairing of the fort, and on the 22d, returned to Frederica. A few days afterwards the men of war from Charleston came off St. Simon's bar. Capt. Thompson with some volunteers from Carolina, our guard schooner, and two galleys came into St. Simon's harbor; and Capt. Hardy, of the Rye man-of-war, receiving a message from the General by Lieut. Maxwell, who went on board him, sent for answer, that he would take a cruise with the rest of the king's ships. But the General, apprehending

* The Ensign Stuart, so honorably mentioned here, became celebrated afterwards as Captain Stuart, who was taken at Fort Mifflin, in the Cherokee country, and whose life was saved by his Indian friend Attakullakulla. The whole story, as detailed by Dr. Hewatt (p. 237 to 242, vol. 2d,) is as romantic as it is beautiful. It exhibits Indian friendship in its warmest coloring; it exhibits Indian character in its brightest light. This ancient Chief had remembered Captain Stuart, when he was a young Highland officer of General Oglethorpe's; and although fifteen years had rolled away, although his country was still bleeding, and he was indignant at the treachery of Governor Littleton, of Carolina, in the imprisonment and death of the chiefs of twenty towns; yet no actings of others could extinguish, in this generous and high-minded man, the friendship of years. The dangers of that day, the thousand wiles and accidents Capt. Stuart escaped from, renowned him among the Indians, and concentrated upon him the affections of all the southern tribes. He was the Colonel John Stuart of the Revolutionary war, who from Pensacola directed at will the movements of the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, and the Cherokees, against all save Georgia. The memory of General Oglethorpe hung like a panoply over Georgia; for she suffered but little, considering her weakness, during the Revolutionary war, from Indian aggressions. Nor was this feeling altogether extinct for fifty years with the Creeks, nor until they believed the people of Oglethorpe had passed away, and the country was occupied by Virginia Algeos.

Sir John Stuart, the victor over General Ranier at the battle of Maida, in Calabria, was the son of this gentleman. This victory at Maida was the first triumph obtained with equal numbers by England over France in the late war; but it would not have been his last, if he had not perished prematurely.

the Spaniards, upon recovering their fright, might return with more courage and better conduct, continued Capt. Thompson's ship in the king's service, and sent expresses over land to the northern provinces on this occasion.

"A list of some of the Spanish forces employed in the invasion of Georgia under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, Governor of St. Augustine, Commander-in-Chief of the expedition; and Major General Antonio de Rodondo, engineer general:—

"Two colonels, with brevets of brigadiers; one regiment of Grenadiers; one regiment of Dragoons, dismounted; the regiment called the Havanna Regiment; ten companies of fifty each, drafted off from several regiments in the Havanna; one regiment of the Havanna militia, consisting of ten companies of one hundred each; one regiment of negroes, regulars, officered by negroes; one regiment of mulattoes, and one company of one hundred Miguelatos; one company of the train, with proper artillery. Augustine forces consisting of about three hundred men, ninety Indians, and fifteen negroes, who ran away from South Carolina."

Thus terminated the invasion of Georgia by the great force that had been brought to bear upon General Oglethorpe, leaving him victorious, and crowned with a glory which no Englishman up to that time had acquired in any of the provinces; for the Spaniards of that day were not like the Spaniards of this. Spain had been for centuries a field of battle, an arena for the powers of Europe to contend in. Nor had Spanish infantry lost any of that fame, in these times, which they had so well maintained under a Prince of Parma and a Duke of Alva. The Spanish infantry that were brought to bear upon Fort Moosa, and again at the Bloody Marsh on St. Simon's, were the same. They were a chosen regiment of grenadiers from old Spain, in garrison at Cuba, that were employed upon both occasions. At Fort Moosa they were victorious, but not bloodless. The particulars of that affair were not known for years, or until Capt. McIntosh was exchanged at the peace.

Fort Moosa is upon a broad river emptying itself under the castle of St. Augustine, four miles only from the castle. Capt. McIntosh had remonstrated with Col. Palmer, for remaining there more than one night, until it produced an alienation between them. All that he could then do was to

make his company sleep upon their arms. They were not surprised. At the first alarm of the sentinels they were in rank. They met the Spanish infantry that approached them in three columns with a highland shout. But the contest was too unequal; all was over in a moment; and Capt. McIntosh and thirty-six of his men had fallen under the Spanish bayonets. A few, with his young son, escaped through the breached wall, and when Col. Palmer, saw the overwhelming force that assailed them, he directed the rangers without the walls, to fly; but, refusing to follow them, paid the debt of imprudence with his blood.

The Spaniards, as should have been expected, when they found Col. Palmer, for five nights, had made with his moving columns, Fort Moosa his resting-place, came in boats with muffled oars at the dead of night. They landed unheard and undiscovered. The Indians, who were relied upon by the commanding officer, were watching the land side, but never dreamed of, or looked to the water. The dead and the wounded of the Spaniards were carried back to St. Augustine for burial. It was this same regiment that, two years afterwards, was brought from Cuba to lead in all enterprises that were again destined to meet the remnant of those highlanders, that they had encountered at Fort Moosa. But this time the scene had changed. It was in the light of day, and it was blood and slaughter, and not victory that awaited them.

In the details that have been given of that day, written probably in a hurry, and certainly by one not himself engaged in the action, there is some confusion of position, and some mingling of events, which can only be understood by one familiar in his childhood with the scene, and who has travelled it over often, with more than one that was himself an actor in the conflict.

It may be remembered that in giving an account of the road cut out from Frederica to the south end of the island of St. Simons, where the fort and sea battery were placed, it was stated that General Oglethorpe traced this road himself; that it proceeded in a south-eastern direction, for two or three miles, where it reached the eastern marsh; that this marsh was bounded to the east, or seaward, by a thick and impracticable morass; on the west, by dense, close wood. The highway continued along this marsh for two miles,

sometimes opening into wide spreads of firm land, fit for the display or manœuvring of men. But when it had again approached within two miles of the south end, there was a bend, in crescent form, in which the firm way was not more than twenty yards wide ; on the east or convex-side of the crescent an intense morass, on the concave or western shore of the crescent an extreme thick brush-wood. After passing this strait, the road entered an open wood of oaks and other timber, concealing the movement of troops, but not giving passage to them. This wood continued for about a mile or two before the fort and open grounds and sea expanded to the view. It was in this open wood, General Oglethorpe had, in retiring from Frederica, left a few rangers and some Indians to watch the motions of the Spaniards. And this wood was the scene of action on the morning of the seventh of July. Two companies of Spaniards and some Spanish Indians at the dawn of day issued from the Spanish camp and made an attack upon the rangers and Indians within the wood. They drove the rangers and Indians to the mouth of the defile, but did not attempt to pass it. The first movement of the Spaniards had been communicated, as we see, to the General. He hurried to the scene of action, and with his advance overthrew the Spaniards, and pursued them to the open field in view of the fort. His first impression, after taking this view was that this attack, from the small force employed, was but a feint to draw off his attention from a more serious attack of Frederica by water. He therefore left two companies of his regiment under the command of one of his oldest Captains ; the Highland company and the Indians, to guard the wood, and returned to wait any movement the enemy might have made by the river against Frederica. But finding there again all still, and the vessels that were within his observation from his lawn or point battery in their former positions, he was returning to the late scene of action with all the men that were not absolutely necessary to man his batteries, when about half way from Frederica he met his two companies with the great body of his Indians, who said that they had been assailed by the whole Spanish force in the wood ; that they had been broken and had retired before them ; that the Spaniards were in pursuit, and would soon be upon them ; for they heard the firing and yells of their Indians in pursuit. He rallied his

broken troops, and reproached them for not taking ground upon some of the strong points they had left behind them, there to await his arrival; for he knew he must fight the enemy upon some of those points, or all would be lost.

Frederica could not be defended, if the enemy once reached the prairie in its rear but for a short time; and all his hopes rested upon meeting them with his Indians in the wood, and profiting by the localities. He continued, however, with hurried steps, and with reviving hopes as he met no enemy in advance; until, arriving at the last bend of the marshy way, a scene opened upon him, which his proudest expectations could never have looked for; a scene to himself of glory and security; to his enemy, of shame and defeat.

The last bend of the marsh was covered by two hundred grenadiers, who lay dead or dying upon the field; while not an enemy was in sight. All was still, save sometimes at intervals a Highland shout or an Indian yell proclaimed that another and another had been found, and dragged from his covert. But how rose that shout, how rang that yell, when the actors stood around their chief to hail him victor of the day. And we have seen the eye glisten, and the voice rise, fifty years afterwards as we fondly listened to the tale by one who had mingled in the strife and been partner in the scene.

But we will detail the little that remains to be told. When the troops were attacked in the wood by the Spanish forces from their camp, they were overwhelmed by superior numbers, and became, as is sometimes the case with even veteran troops, seized with a panic, lest the Spaniards, pushing on, should take possession of the defile, and cut off their retreat. They therefore made a precipitate retreat, the Highlanders following in the rear reluctantly. After passing through the defile Lieut. McKay communicated to his friend Lieut. Southerland, (who commanded the rear guard of the retreating forces, composed also of Highlanders,) the feelings of his corps, and they agreed to drop behind, and as soon as the whole had passed the defile, as there were no Spaniards in view, to return through the brush and take post at the two points of the crescent. Four Indians that were with them, and particularly attached to the corps, remained with them. They had just taken post and concealed themselves in the woods when the Spaniards, having made all their arrange-

ments for an advance, their grenadier regiment, the *elite* of their troops, advanced into the defile, where, seeing in the foot-prints the rapid retreat of the broken troops, and observing that their right was covered by an open morass, and their left, as they supposed, by an impracticable wall of brush-wood, and a border of dry white sand, they stacked their arms and sat down to take the refreshment that had become necessary after having been under arms many hours, believing as they did, that the contest for the day was over. Just at that moment, a Highland cap was raised at either point, and the scene of death began. All was terror — no resistance was made — sometimes they attempted to fly along the marsh. This pass was too narrow. They were met and slaughtered by the broad-sword. Those that did escape, had at last to make their way to and through the brush-wood, where many wounded perished, and their bodies were only found when all that remained of them were their whitened bones.

The young soldier of Fort Moosa, just then sixteen years of age, was there. No shout rose higher, no sword waved quicker than his upon that day. But his heart was as soft as it was brave, and there was melancholy in his mood, when standing upon the ground and pointing to where the victor stood, and where the vanquished fell, he told to his daughter's son this tale of other times.*

General Oglethorpe had long been informed, and knew, of the intrigues that Lieut. Col. Cook, and Col. Vanderdus-sen, and other disgraced and disaffected persons at and from Charleston had been carrying on against him in England. But conscious in his own integrity, and proud in the purity of his own actions, he did not waste one hour of his time in reflections upon these reptiles; awaiting in repose the time, when having discharged his higher duties, he would have leisure to turn upon them and their calumnies. He remained therefore in Georgia until March or April of the year 1743; and would have remained still longer, but the high military

* The tract of land that surrounded this field of action, was afterwards granted to Col. William McIntosh, my grandfather. It was sold subsequently to Mr. Cater and Mr. Page, of St. Simon's island. Mr. Cater's house stands within a hundred yards from the Bloody Bend, as it was named from that day.

Peter Grant, a highland soldier of the rear guard, commanded by Lieut. Southerland, died at St. Simon's island, eighty odd years of age. He too has pointed out to me, on the ground, the position of Lieut. Southerland and his men on that day.

reputation he had acquired in Europe by the result of the Spanish war in Georgia had drawn upon him the eyes of the British ministry, who were beginning to tremble at the rumor of an expected invasion by Charles Edward Stuart, the young Pretender, to be backed by France. The ministry were anxious for his presence in their army, from the consideration he was held in by the high church and Jacobite parties, with whom it was supposed his presence in the army would have an influence. He therefore received positive orders to embark for England. Georgia being no longer in danger, he could no longer postpone obedience to those orders, and General Oglethorpe was compelled, by military duty, reluctantly to take part in a contest, in which his heart did not follow his hand; and, as is ever the case in every such contest, the latent feeling never fails in some hour of opportunity, in a generous mind, to develope itself. The day before his departure from St. Simon's, while at anchor in the sound, the scene between himself and the young McIntoshes, William and Lacklin, (which is related in the life of General Lacklin McIntosh*) occurred. All Georgia lamented his departure, and none more than his regiment, which loved him as a father, and revered him as a friend. But all hoped that this departure, like the many separations that had been before, would be of short duration, and that he would return to them, as he had returned before, with blessings upon his wings.

They little knew that the viper, which had been gathering venom for a long time, was in the way, and that at the first incautious step, it would sting him they so much loved, or still more dark would have been the day, when for the last time his sails were unfurled to the winds of the west.

We will extract from Dr. Hewatt the feelings of Carolina when General Oglethorpe had at length left Georgia, and it will come better from him than from us, for we feel reluctant to speak of his enemies.

"But while the inhabitants of Port Royal were thus addressing General Oglethorpe, reports were circulating in Charleston to his prejudice, insomuch that both his honor and honesty were called in question. Such malicious rumors had even reached London, and occasioned some of his bills

* National Portrait Gallery.

to return to America protested. Lieut. Col. William Cook, who owed his preferment to the General's particular friendship and generosity, and who, on pretence of sickness, had left Georgia before this invasion, had filed no less than nineteen articles of complaint against him, summoning several officers and soldiers from Georgia to prove the charge.

"As the General had in fact stretched his credit, exhausted his strength and risked his life for the defence of Carolina, in its frontier colony, such a recompense must have been equally provoking, as it was unmerited. We are apt to believe that such injurious treatment could not have arisen from the wiser and better part of the inhabitants, and therefore must be solely ascribed to some envious and malignant spirits who are to be found in all communities. Envy cannot bear the blaze of superior virtue, and malice rejoices in the stains which even falsehood throws on a distinguished character; and such is the extensive freedom of the British form of government, that every one, even the meanest, may step forth as an enemy to great abilities and unblemished reputation."

Soon after his arrival a court martial of General officers was called, who sat two days at the Horse Guards, examining one by one the various articles of complaint lodged against him. After the most mature examination, the board adjudged the charge to be false, malicious and groundless, and reported the same to his Majesty; in consequence of which Lieut. Col. Cook was dismissed from the service, and declared incapable of serving his Majesty in any military capacity whatever.

By this means the character of Gen. Oglethorpe was vindicated, and began to appear to the world in its true and favorable light. Carolina owed this benefactor her friendship and love; Georgia was indebted to him for both her existence and protection. Indeed his generous services for both colonies deserve to be deeply imprinted on the memory of every inhabitant, and the benefit resulting from them to be remembered to the latest age with joy and gratitude.

On the return of Gen. Oglethorpe to England the Trustees adopted his views and revised the government of the province.

Up to this period the government of Georgia had been altogether military, executed by Gen. Oglethorpe and such officers as he chose to appoint; but his paternal eye being

now withdrawn (for a time, the length of which could not be known,) the Trustees established a civil government, and committed the administration to the President and four Assistants, who were to correspond directly with the Board of Trustees, and receive instructions from them, while Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment was left for the protection of the province. And here perhaps is the proper place to pause and look back for a moment to the course of Georgia, under Gen. Oglethorpe; for the habit of humanity is complaint, the lot of humanity is care and suffering.

We must not look at the condition of Georgia under General Oglethorpe and the Trustees in the abstract, but regard it in comparison with the condition of other colonies in their first settlement. And yet there was no colony so exposed to dangers from civilized and savage men. What had been the condition of Virginia for fifty years after its first settlement? What had it been but war within and war without? Even the brave and iron-hearted men of Cromwell, what was their condition for the first fifty years? Did they know peace? Did they enjoy pleasure? Among the pilgrims of the east was there harmony within and security from without? The people of Georgia, under Gen. Oglethorpe, complained, though all their real wants were ministered to, because the wilderness did not blossom, or the earth give forth its fruits without labor. But time and reflection have brought healing upon its wings.

Gen. Oglethorpe, soon after his arrival in England, married a lady of some fortune, to whom he had been long attached; a lady whose mind and disposition were calculated to give him what neither the new world nor the old had given him, the repose of years.

Gen. Oglethorpe was received very graciously by the administration, who were in the daily expectation of an invasion, by Charles Edward Stuart, backed as was supposed by a French and Spanish force. Gen. Oglethorpe's military reputation was high, particularly with the Jacobite party, while the ministry knew they could rely upon his faith and his soldier's honor, if he was engaged in the contest, however his feelings might have clung to the standard under which his fathers fought. They therefore gave him a command in the army that was collecting to meet the expected rising of the north.

At length in June, 1745, the pretender Charles Edward Stuart sailed from France, and after meeting with many difficulties landed in Scotland and raised his standard. He was joined by a few of the Clans; foremost among them the Camerons. The McIntoshes had suffered so much in the rising of 1715, that few of them were left for the war of '45. But these few were led to the field by a woman, by Lady McIntosh, a near relative of John More McIntosh of Georgia, who had married her kinsman McIntosh of Mary Hall, a branch of the family that had attached themselves to the house of Brunswick.

A reference to Smollet, vol. iii., p. 150, will show the progress of Prince Charles and the cruelties practised on his adherents by the forces sent to quell the rebellion and arrest his career. Not Alaric with his Goths nor Attila with his Huns ever carried desolation farther than did the recreant Generals Cope and Hawley their exterminating wrath upon the unfortunate people of Scotland.

Is it to be wondered at that General Oglethorpe who commanded the English horse, and was a witness of these outrages, (in modern times without example,) and that too upon the relatives and friends of men who had served with him in Georgia, and followed his steps through dangers and difficulties from which these murderers would have shrunk abashed or fled;—is it to be wondered, that his generous mind revolted at such cruelties? that he first complained, then remonstrated, to the Duke of Cumberland; and at length broke out in indignant wrath against Cope and Hawley, the immediate instruments of all these barbarities?

It is in relation to this attack upon Cope and Hawley, that Horace Walpole, the invidious retailer of old stories, and the recorder of the idle gossip of the day, himself incapable of feeling as General Oglethorpe felt, or of acting as General Oglethorpe acted, has been pleased to style him a *bully*. It was in consequence too, of this attack upon Cope and Hawley, and his strong remonstrances to the Duke of Cumberland, that a court martial was gotten up against General Oglethorpe, under a charge of not having pursued at Carlisle the retreating forces of Prince Charles. A court martial held upon one who had given the first check to the Prince, and by men whom the Prince had defeated with less than

half the numbers they commanded! General Oglethorpe was honorably acquitted.

There still remained one blow which was to afflict him sorely. He had recruited his own regiment, selected his own officers; and they had followed him undismayed by the enemies that surrounded him, or the treachery of apparent friends. He had no children, and he had learned to feel for these companions in arms a father's love. These were now to be torn from his command. His regiment, by the will of the court and the Duke of Cumberland, was to be disbanded and scattered through the wilds of America. Those men who had met the Indian tribes in Georgia in friendship and in fellowship, were to meet some of these very tribes in hostile and deadly combat. Captain McKay with two companies were to be sent to Virginia, to encounter the western tribes. Captains Demeré and Stuart were to be sent to Carolina to encounter the Cherokees. But wheresoever a Scottish cap or a Highland plaid was seen, it became a symbol of peace, a flag of protection. This blow upon his regiment had well nigh overwhelmed General Oglethorpe. It sickened him of the world, and he felt emphatically that all is vanity and vexation of spirit. From henceforth all search after fame was at an end. He turned for consolation to the reminiscences of the past, to the hopes of the future, to the bosom of his wife, to the affections of his friends.

In 1747, he withdrew from parliament and for thirty-eight years enjoyed undisturbed repose; honored by the wise, respected by the good. We never hear of him from forty-seven to eighty-five, when he closed his calm and happy life, but in terms of praise. We never hear his name, but in eulogy. And what has become of his enemies!

General Oglethorpe's mind was deeply enriched with knowledge. In his long retirement from public life, he was the constant associate and companion of the literary men of the day; and it is only from this association that we can now know, how this long retirement was passed. And happily we have enough before us to show that the disappointment of his higher hopes, had not soured his temper, or ruffled his disposition. The first fifty years of his life, had been given to the public and to his country; the last forty were given to his friends; and with such extracts as we

find in Boswell and others, we will close this article, satisfied that enough has been said, deeply to endear his memory to all who may read what is written.

The following simple but interesting narrative, shows how Boswell became acquainted and intimate with General Oglethorpe. As it is characteristic of the frank and liberal character of General Oglethorpe, it is inserted, although not in its proper place.

"Let me here be allowed to pay my tribute of most sincere gratitude, to the memory of that excellent person, my intimacy with whom was the more valuable to me, because my first acquaintance with him was unexpected and unsolicited. Soon after the publication of my 'Account of Corsica,' he did me the honor to call on me, and approaching me with a frank, courteous air, said, 'My name, sir, is Oglethorpe, and I wish to be acquainted with you.' I was not a little flattered to be thus addressed by an eminent man, of whom I had read in Pope from my early years,

'Or driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Will fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole.'

"I was fortunate to be found worthy of his good opinion, insomuch that I was not only invited to make one in the many respectable companies, whom he entertained at his table, but had a cover at his hospitable board, every day when I happened to be disengaged; and in his society I never failed to enjoy learned and animated conversation, seasoned with genuine sentiments of virtue and religion."

At Boswell's second visit to London in 1762, he became acquainted with General Oglethorpe; and the following extracts are taken from his works, in his several visits to London down to 1781. The last from a note in his work after the death of General Oglethorpe. They all tell the deep veneration felt for him. Even by the stern moralist himself, as well as by his whole school. Johnson's "London," was published in May, 1738. One of the warmest patrons of this poem was General Oglethorpe, "whose strong benevolence of soul," was unabated during the course of a very long life, though it is painful to think, that he had but too much reason to become cold and callous and discontented with the world, from the neglect which he experienced of his public and private worth by those *in whose power it was,*

to gratify so gallant a veteran with marks of distinction. This extraordinary person was as remarkable for his learning and taste as for his other eminent qualities; and no man was more prompt, active, and generous in encouraging merit. I have heard Johnson gratefully acknowledge *in his presence* the kind and effectual support which he gave to his "London," though unacquainted with its author.

Extract second, vol. 2, page 163.—"I dined with Johnson at General Oglethorpe's where we found Goldsmith. I started the question, 'Whether duelling was consistent with moral duty.' The brave old General fired at this and said with a lofty air, 'Undoubtedly, a man has a right to defend his honor.' Goldsmith (turning to me) 'I ask you first, sir, what would you do if you were affronted?' I answered, 'I should think it necessary to fight.' 'Why then,' replied Goldsmith, 'that solves the question.'

"Johnson.—'No, sir, it does not solve the question. It does not follow that what a man would do, is therefore right. The General told us that when he was a very young man, I think fifteen only serving under Prince Eugene of Savoy, he was sitting in a company at table, with a Prince of Wirtemberg. The Prince took up a glass of wine, and by a fillip made some of it fly in Oglethorpe's face. Here was a nice dilemma. To have challenged him instantly, might have fixed a quarrelsome character upon the young soldier. To have taken no notice of it might have been considered as cowardice. Oglethorpe therefore keeping his eye upon the Prince, and smiling all the time as if he took what his Highness had done as a jest, said, 'Mon Prince,' (I forget the French words he used, the purport however was) 'that is a good joke, but we do it much better in England,' and threw a whole glass of wine in the Prince's face. An old general who sat by said, 'Il a bien fait, mon Prince, vous l'avez commencé;' thus all ended in good humor. Dr. Johnson said, 'Pray, General, give us an account of the siege of Belgrade.' Upon which the General, pouring a little wine upon the table, described every thing with a wet finger. 'Here *we* were; here were the Turks, &c. &c.' Johnson listened with the closest attention."

Extract, page 327.—"On Monday, I dined with Johnson at General Oglethorpe's, with Mr. Langton and the Irish Doctor Campbell, whom the General had obligingly given

me leave to bring with me. This learned gentleman was thus gratified with a very high intellectual feast, by not only being in company with Doctor Johnson, but with General Oglethorpe, who had been so long a celebrated name, both at home and abroad. 1775."

These extracts from Boswell, have been made particularly to show his long, unbroken intimacy with the literary men of England. They might have been multiplied, but they are sufficient. They serve also to show the early period at which he had resigned his commission in the Guards, and become a volunteer with Prince Eugene; and of course will in some degree establish his age. And they confirm beyond question, the bitterness which the ruling party of England felt towards him, and how very improbable it is that they should have offered him any command at the commencement of the American war, a command that if offered to him, and if his age had permitted him to accept, he would have spurned with indignation; as we know from the sentiments expressed by him, of the character and principles of that war, to all who had an opportunity of hearing his sentiments at the time. An attempt was made to introduce his name into the first commission sent out to negotiate with the first congress. But believing that the commission was intended to be delusive, and only designed to abate American zeal, to divide the American people, and to unnerve the American arm, at the first overture the proposition was civilly declined.

In youth, General Oglethorpe was very handsome, and through life retained the power of pleasing in a high degree.

Mrs. Hannah More, in a letter to her sister dated 1784, says: "I have got a new admirer, and we flirt together prodigiously. It is the famous Gen. Oglethorpe, perhaps the most remarkable man of his time. He was the foster-brother of the Pretender, and much above ninety years old. The finest figure you ever saw. He frequently realizes all my ideas of Nestor. His literature is great; his knowledge of the world extensive, and his faculties as bright as ever. He is one of the three persons mentioned by Pope, still living; Lord Mansfield, and Lord Marchmont are the other two. He was the intimate friend of Southern, the Tragic Poet, and all the wits of that time. He is perhaps the oldest man of a gentleman living; and he could have entertained me by re-

peating passages from Sir Eldered. He is quite a *preux chevalier*; heroic, romantic, and full of the old gallantry."

There has been a mystery hanging about the age of Gen. Oglethorpe, and the period of his birth, whether he was born in the year 1689 or 1698. The last date is recorded upon his tomb by the direction of his wife. The first is contained in a certificate obtained from the Parish Clerk of St. James in London. It will be remembered that this is the transposition of a single figure. The first recorded upon his tomb would make him eighty-seven years of age at his death, the last ninety-six. But there was another rumor afloat in the west of England, among the remaining friends of the house of Stuart, that he was the son of James II.; and the beauty of his person, the grace of his manners and his chivalrous character, made it the more readily believed.*

But after the most deliberate consideration of all the circumstances, the writer of this, without spending words in idle disquisition, is satisfied to take that recorded upon his tomb as his true age, and to put the rest down to the propensity in men to mystify whatever is extraordinary. And it is extraordinary enough that General Oglethorpe should have carried his faculties in all their freshness to eighty-seven, and then not sink in cold decay, but like a tropical sun go down in all his strength. So much so, that the friends who were looking to him and listening for his last inspiration, had lost the opportunity; for he had passed away.

Mr. Boswell, after reciting a conversation between General Oglethorpe and Doctor Johnson, which took place in 1775, and in which Doctor Johnson had urged General Oglethorpe to give the world his life, and in which the Doctor said, "I know no man whose life would be more interesting; if I was furnished with materials I should be very glad to write it," — adds in this note: "The General seemed unwilling to enter upon it at that time. But upon a subsequent occasion, he communicated to me a number of particulars which I have committed to writing. But I was not sufficiently diligent in obtaining more from him; not apprehending that his friends were so soon to lose him; for notwithstanding his

* This is no doubt another edition of the same story. General Oglethorpe could not have been the foster-brother of Prince George, as the Revolution occurred some months before his birth, as given in the supposed certificate of the Parish Clerk, and they are no doubt both incorrect.

great age, he was very healthy and vigorous, and was at last carried off by a violent fever, which is often fatal, at any period of life."

General Oglethorpe at his death left no children behind him, and as far as we know, no very near collateral relative in England. His wife, after having lived with him for more than forty years, in great harmony and affection, was left to weep over his grave.

In France are to be found his nearest collateral relations. The family of the late Marquis De Bellegard are descended from his sister, Elizabeth Oglethorpe, who was attached to the family of James II. after their exile. That family are yet living, and, we suppose, one of them is a ducal peer of France. Not long before the decease of Mr. Harris, of Savannah, he received a letter from Mr. De. Neuville, French minister at Washington, covering a letter from a French nobleman, stating himself to be the direct lineal descendant of Elizabeth Oglethorpe, the sister of General Oglethorpe; and making the same inquiries respecting the landed property of General Oglethorpe, which were made of General Washington, in the year 1790, and to which the annexed letter is an answer. Had this letter to General Washington reached the public while the family were in exile, from the French Revolution, Georgia would not have forgotten them.

When Mr. Harris submitted this letter to the writer of these notices, the family had been restored to high rank, and we supposed to fortune, and required no pecuniary aid. This letter must have been put into the hands of Mr. Bevan, by Mr. Harris.

To the Marquis De Bellegard, United Netherlands.

NEW YORK, JAN. 15, 1790.

Sir, — I have received your letter dated the 18th of September, 1789; and in reply to it must inform you that so far from living upon terms of intimacy and friendship with the late General Oglethorpe, as it appears by your letter you have understood that I did, I never was so happy as to have any personal acquaintance with that gentleman, nor any other knowledge of him than from his general character. The distance of our place of residence from each other, which is nearly one thousand miles, and the different periods in which we have lived, are circumstances which pre-

clude the probability of our having been upon an intimate footing.

I have however directed inquiries to be made, among the gentlemen from the state of Georgia who are now attending congress in this place, respecting the affairs of the late General Oglethorpe, and am informed by them, that they know of no lands belonging to him. One of them, a senator from the state of Georgia, mentions his having been written to some time since by Mr. Jefferson, our minister at the court of Versailles, upon the same subject, and in consequence thereof, he made every inquiry in his power, relative to the matter; but there were no lands in Georgia belonging to General Oglethorpe. And he farther adds, that if there had been property of that gentleman in Georgia in the time of the late war with Great Britain, so far from its having been confiscated, it would have met with singular protection, in consequence of the high estimation in which the character of General Oglethorpe stood in that state. I should have been happy, sir, to have had it in my power to give you more pleasing information upon this subject. I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[Vol. 10, of Washington's Letters.]

The above letter, it will be remembered, was written within five years of General Oglethorpe's death, when all the circumstances of his family would be known to hundreds.

Sapelo Island, March 20th, 1840.

APPENDIX.

An Act to incorporate the Georgia Historical Society.

WHEREAS, the members of a Society instituted in the city of Savannah for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and diffusing information relating to the history of the State of Georgia in particular, and of American history generally, have applied for an Act of Incorporation ; —

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of Georgia in general assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That J. M. Berrien and such other persons as now are and may from time to time become members of said Society, be and they are hereby declared and constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name of the "Georgia Historical Society," and by that name shall have perpetual succession and be capable to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended in all courts or places whatsoever, to have a common seal, and the same at pleasure to change or alter, to make, establish, and ordain such a constitution and such by-laws not repugnant to the constitution of this State or of the United States, as shall from time to time be necessary and expedient, and to annex to the breach thereof such penalty, by fine, suspension, or expulsion as they may deem fit, and to purchase, take, receive, hold, and enjoy, to them and their successors, any goods, and chattels, lands and tenements, and to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of the same, or of any part thereof, at their will and pleasure. Provided, that the clear annual income of such real and personal estate shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars, and provided also that the funds of the said corporation shall be used and appropriated to the purposes stated in the preamble of this Act and those only.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Society shall have power to elect and qualify such officers as may by them be deemed necessary, to be chosen at such time and to hold their offices for such period as the Constitution or By-Laws of said Society shall prescribe, and that if the election of said officers, or any of them, shall not be held on any of the days for that purpose appointed, it shall be lawful to make such election on any other day.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be the duty of the governor of the State to transmit or cause to be transmitted to the said Society, a set of the Acts and also of the Journals of the present and future sessions of the Legislature, and also copies of all other documents, papers, books, and pamphlets that shall hereafter be printed under, or by virtue of, an act of Legislature, or joint resolution of both branches thereof, unless such act or resolution shall otherwise provide, and that the said Society may, by their agent or agents, have access at all reasonable times to the several public offices of this State and of the corporate towns and cities thereof, and may cause such documents to be searched, examined, and copied without paying office fees as they may judge proper to promote the object of the Society.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, that this Act shall be and is hereby declared to be a public Act, and shall be construed benignly and favorably for every beneficial purpose therein intended, and that no misnomer of the said Corporation in any deed, will, testament, devise, gift, grant, demise, or other instrument of contract or conveyance, shall vitiate or defeat the same, provided the Corporation shall be sufficiently described to ascertain the intention of the parties.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, that the governor be and he is hereby authorized and requested to confide to the care and keeping of the proper officers of said Society the transcripts of the colonial records lately taken by the Rev. C. W. Howard in London, until further disposition of the same shall be made by the General Assembly.

JOSEPH DAY, *Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

ROBERT M. ECHOLS, *Pres. of the Senate.*

Assented to, 19th Dec. 1839.

CHARLES J. McDONALD, *Governor.*

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. The society shall be called, The Georgia Historical Society.

ART. II. Its object shall be, to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the history of the State of Georgia, in all its various departments, and of American history generally.

ART. III. This Society shall consist of Resident and Honorary Members — Resident Members embracing those within the State — Honorary Members, those distinguished for their literary attainments, particularly in the department of History, throughout the world.

ART. IV. The officers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and seven Curators; who shall be elected by ballot, at each annual meeting. Should a vacancy occur in any of said offices, by death, resignation, removal, or otherwise, it may be filled up by ballot, at the next regular meeting of the Society, and if it shall happen in an office other than that of President or Vice President, it may be filled up until the next regular meeting, by the presiding officer, and the Curators, or a majority of them.

ART. V. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the 12th day of February, and on the second Monday of every other month a monthly meeting shall be held.

ART. VI. The President, or in his absence, either of the Vice Presidents, may call an extra meeting of the Society, upon the request of the majority of the Curators present in the city, or of five Resident Members.

ART. VII. The admission of members shall be by ballot — their names having been first propounded at a previous meeting — and a majority of two-thirds present, shall be required to elect; the Resident Members paying ten dollars for the first year, and a subsequent annual contribution of five dollars.

ART. VIII. Seven Resident Members, including at least two of the officers, shall constitute a quorum, and be empowered to transact the regular business of the society, except at the annual meeting, when fifteen shall constitute a quorum.

ART. IX. This Constitution can be altered or amended

only by a vote of two-thirds of the Resident Members present at the annual meeting, and a notice to that effect having been made at a previous meeting.

BY-LAWS.

1. The President, or in his absence the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of the Society — regulate the debates, give, when required, the casting vote, preserve order, and be ex-officio, Chairman of the Board of Managers.

2. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society, his letters having previously received the sanction of the presiding officer. He shall preserve on file the originals of all communications addressed to the Society, and keep a fair copy of all his letters, in books furnished for the purpose. It shall furthermore be his duty, to read at each meeting the correspondence, or such abstracts from it, as the President may direct, which he has sustained since the previous meeting.

3. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society, and at the opening of each one, shall read those of the preceding one. He shall have the custody of the Constitution, By-Laws, and Records of the Society; and shall give due notice of the time and place of all meetings of the Society.

4. The Treasurer shall collect, receive, and disburse all moneys due and payable, and all donations and bequests of money, or other property, to the Society. He shall pay, under proper vouchers, all the ordinary expenses of the Society, and shall deposit all its funds in one of the Banks of the City, to the credit of the Society, subject to his checks, countersigned by the presiding officer; and at the annual meeting shall make a true report of all moneys received and paid out by him, to be audited by the Committee of Finance, provided for hereafter.

5. It shall be the duty of the Librarian, to preserve, arrange, and keep in good order, all books, MSS., documents, pamphlets and papers, of every kind, belonging to the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care, that no book, MS., document, paper, or any property of

the Society, confided to his keeping, be removed from the room. He shall also be furnished with a book, in which to record all donations and bequests, of whatsoever kind, relating to his department, with the name of the donor, and the time when bestowed.

6. The Curators, with the President, Vice Presidents, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Librarian, and Treasurer, shall constitute a Board of Managers, whose duty it shall be, to superintend the general concerns of the Society. The President shall, from this Board, appoint the following Standing Committees, viz.:—On the Library, on Printing and Publishing, and on Finance.

7. The Committee on the Library shall have the supervisory care of all the printed publications, manuscripts, and curiosities. They shall, with the Librarian, provide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, by which to arrange and display them. The printed volumes and manuscripts shall be regularly numbered, and marked with the name of the "Georgia Historical Society." They shall propose at the regular meetings, such books or MSS. pertaining to the object of the Society, as they shall deem expedient, which, when approved, shall be by them purchased, and disposed of as above directed. They shall be required to visit the Library at least once each week, officially—and shall provide a book or books, in which the Librarian shall keep a record of their proceedings—and be entrusted, in general, with the custody, care and increase, of whatever comes within the province of their appointed duty.

8. The Committee on Printing and Publishing, shall prepare for publication whatever documents or collections shall be ordered, by the Society—shall contract for, and supervise the printing of the same, and shall furnish the Recording Secretary and Librarian, with such blank notices, summonses, labels, &c. as may be deemed requisite.

9. The Committee on Finance shall consist of at least one member of each of the former Committees, and shall have the general oversight and direction of the funds of the Society. They shall once in three months examine the books of the Treasurer, vouch all accounts of moneys expended, and audit his annual report.

10. The order of proceeding at the regular meetings shall be as follows:—1st. Reading the Minutes of the last meeting,

and confirming them. 2d. Reading the correspondence of the Corresponding Secretary. 3d. Nomination of new members. 4th. Balloting for those already propounded. 5th. Overtures or reports from the Board of Managers, or from the Standing Committees. 6th. Communications or addresses from the members. 7th. Miscellaneous business.

11. The Board of Managers shall appoint one of the Resident or Honorary Members of the Society, to deliver an historical discourse, at each annual meeting, together with such other exercises as shall be appropriate to its celebration.

12. Any failure on the part of the members, after due notice from the President, to pay their annual dues, for two consecutive years, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership. And no person thus expunged, can be eligible to re-admission, without the strict payment of his arrears.

Officers of the Georgia Historical Society, elected June, 1839.

JOHN MACPHERSON BERRIEN, *President.*

JAMES M. WAYNE, }
M. H. M'ALLISTER, } *Vice Presidents.*

I. K. TEFFT, *Corresponding Secretary.*

WILLIAM B. STEVENS, *Recording Secretary.*

GEORGE W. HUNTER, *Treasurer.*

HENRY K. PRESTON, *Librarian.*

WILLIAM THORNE WILLIAMS, }
CHARLES S. HENRY, }
JOHN C. NICOLL, } *Curators.*
WILLIAM LAW, }
ROBERT M. CHARLTON, }
RICHARD D. ARNOLD, }
A. A. SMETS, }

Standing Committees.

J. M. WAYNE, }
WILLIAM LAW, }
J. C. NICOLL, } *On the Library.*
R. M. CHARLTON, }
WILLIAM B. STEVENS, }
HENRY K. PRESTON, }

W. T. WILLIAMS,	}	<i>On Printing and Publishing.</i>
I. K. TEFFT,		
R. D. ARNOLD,		
M. H. M'ALLISTER,	}	<i>On Finance.</i>
C. S. HENRY,		
WILLIAM LAW,		
WILLIAM T. WILLIAMS,		
A. A. SMETS,		
GEORGE W. HUNTER,		

List of the Resident Members of the Georgia Historical Society.

Arnold, R. D., M. D.	Glen, George.	Owens, R. W.
Anderson, Jno. W.	Gordon, W. W.	Preston, H. K.
Bulloch, Wm. B.	Hunter, Geo. W.	Porter, Anthony.
Binney, Rev. Joseph D.	Henry, Judge C. S.	Paine, Capt. Thos., U. S. N.
Bulloch, Wm. H.	Habersham, Robt.	Posey, Jno. F., M. D.
Burroughs, Jos. H.	Habersham, Wm. N.	Preston, W., D. D.
Balfour, Jno.	Habersham, Jos. C., M. D.	Paddleford, Edw.
Bowen, Wm. P.	Harden, Ed. J.	Purse, Thos.
Bartow, Rev. T. B.	Harding, Geo. S.	Fuller, Robt. M.
Barnard, Jas.	Harris, S. L. W.	Philbrick, Saml.
Brown, Morgan.	Howard, Rev. Chs. Wallace.	Fendleton, P. C.
Berrien, Jno. M.	Henry, J. P.	Robertson, W.
Bulloch, N. W. J.	House, Saml. C.	Reynolds, L. O.
Bartow, Francis S.	Jones, Geo.	Read, J. Bond, M. D.
Bayard, N. J.	Jones, Rev. Jos. L.	Randolph, R. H., M. D.
Charlton, Robert M.	Jackson, Jos. W.	Robertson, F. M., M. D.
Cumming, Geo. B.	Kollock, F. M., M. D.	Schley, Geo.
Cumming, Jos.	Kollock, Geo. J.	Smith, Jas.
Cohen, Sol.	King, Ralph.	Stiles, Wm. H.
Campbell, D. C.	King, Thos. Butler.	Stiles, Benj. E.
Cowper, Jas. Hamilton.	Law, Wm.	Shaffer, Jos. H.
Caruthers, Wm. A., M. D.	Lamar, G. B.	Stephens, Chas.
Cuyler, Wm. H., M. D.	Lewis, John N.	Smets, A. A.
Coppee, Edw., M. D.	McAllister, M. H.	Stevens, Wm. Bacon, M. D.
Clark, Arch.	McWhir, Wm., D. D.	Saunders, H., M. D.
Clinch, Gen. Duncan L.	Mallard, Jno. B.	Sinclair, E.
Croftree, Wm. J.	Millen, Jno.	Sorel, Francis.
Duncan, Wm.	Miller, Wm. H.	Tatnell, Capt. Josiah, U. S. N.
Daniell, W. C., M. D.	McArdell, C.	Tefft, I. K.
Dudley, Geo. W.	Morel, Jas. S., M. D.	Turner, Wm.
DeLamotta, J., Jr.	Myers, M.	White, Wm. P.
D'Lyon, Judge Levi S.	McCall, Thos.	Ward, Jno. E.
Fay, Jos. S.	Nicoll, Judge Jno. C.	Wayne, Judge Jas. M.
Fay, Sam. H.	Neufville, Rev. Ed.	Williams, Wm. Thorne.
Fleming, Wm. B.	Nesbit, E. A.	White, Rev. Geo.
Foster, Thos. F.	O'Neill, Rev. J. F.	Warner, Hiram.
Griffin, Jas. F., M. D.	Olmsted, Jona.	Wallace, Norman.
Goodwin, Robt. M.		

Honorary Members.

Hon. John Q. Adams, LL. D., Ex. Pres. U. S., Ms.	Hon. Alden Bradford, LL. D. Boston, Ms.
Bishop Andrews, Covington, Ga.	Rev. Leonard Bacon, New Haven, Ct.
Jasper Adams, D. D., West Point, N. Y.	John Le Cont, Esq., Georgia.
Washington Alston, Esq., Cambridge, Ms.	Hon. Lewis Cass, LL. D. Minister to France.
Geo. Bancroft, Esq., Boston, Ms.	J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq., N. Y.
I. Bachman, D. D., Charleston, S. C.	Hon. Langdon Cheves, LL. D., Philadelphia.
Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., Philadelphia.	M. St. Clair Clarke, Esq., Washington, D. C.
Rev. C. P. Beaman, Pres. Oglethorpe Univ., Ga.	B. R. Carroll, Esq., Charleston, S. C.

- Alonzo Church, D. D., Pres. Franklin Univ., Ga.
 William Cogswell, D. D., Boston.
 Wm. Drayton, Esq., Philadelphia.
 Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL. D., Philadelphia.
 Jeremiah Day, D. D. LL. D., Pres. Yale College.
 Hon. Thomas Day, Hartford, Conn.
 Hon. Geo. M. Dallas, Minister to Russia.
 Hon. John Davis, LL. D., Boston.
 S. Henry Dickson, M. D., Charleston, S. C.
 John Delafield, Esq., Cincinnati.
 Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D., Boston.
 Hon. Alex. H. Everett, LL. D., Boston.
 Hon. Powhattan Ellis, Minister to Mexico.
 Hon. John H. Eaton, Minister to Spain.
 Prof. Romeo Elton, Providence.
 Hon. John Forsyth, Washington.
 Rev. Ignatius A. Few, Ga.
 Rev. Joseph B. Felt, Boston.
 Peter Force, Esq., Washington.
 John W. Francis, M. D., New York.
 Prof. Wm. G. Goddard, Providence, R. I.
 Robt. Gilmer, Esq., Baltimore.
 Samuel Gilman, D. D., Charleston, S. C.
 Albert G. Greene, Esq., Providence.
 Hon. Geo. R. Gilmer, Ga.
 Hon. Robt. Hallowell Gardiner, Gardiner, Me.
 Thad. Mason Harris, D. D., Boston.
 Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, Ohio.
 Jonathan Homer, D. D., Newton, Ms.
 Francis L. Hawkes, D. D., New York.
 Gen. Robt. V. Hayne, Charleston, S. C.
 Hon. B. C. Howard, Baltimore.
 Isaac Hays, M. D., Philadelphia.
 Jas. G. Heath, Esq., Richmond, Va.
 Washington Irving, LL. D., New York.
 Theodore Irving, Esq., New York.
 Edw. D. Ingraham, Esq., Philadelphia.
 Gen. Andrew Jackson, LL. D., Ex. Fr. U. S., Tenn.
 William Jenks, D. D., Boston.
 John Jay, Esq., New York.
 James Kent, LL. D., New York.
 Prof. Jas. L. Kingsley, LL. D., New Haven, Ct.
 Samuel Kerchival, Esq., Va.
 Mitchell King, Esq., Charleston.
 Geo. Washington Lafayette, France.
 Gen. Morgan Lewis, New York.
 Hon. Hugh S. Legre, Charleston.
 Rev. A. B. Longstreet, Ga.
 Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, Ga.
 Hon. Henry A. Muhlenburg, Minister to Austria.
 Samuel Miller, D. D., Princeton, N. J.
 James Moutrie, M. D., Charleston.
 Hon. Henry Middleton, S. C.
 Rev. Jesse Mercer, Ga.
 C. G. Memminger, Esq., S. C.
 Hon. Charles J. McDonald, Gov. of Georgia.
 Prof. Denison Olmsted, New Haven, Conn.
 Wm. H. Prescott, Esq., Boston.
 Hon. J. K. Paulding, Washington.
 Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, LL. D., Washington.
 Hon. John Pickering, LL. D., Boston.
 Rev. Geo. Pierce, Ga.
 Jas. L. Petigru, Esq., S. C.
 Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL. D., Pres. Harv. Univ.
 William Read, M. D., Charleston.
 Hon. Hiram G. Runnels, Miss.
 Thomas Raffles, D. D., LL. D., Liverpool, Eng.
 Hon. Ashur Robbins, R. I.
 J. G. M. Ramsey, Tenn.
 Jas. A. Stewart, Esq., Charleston.
 Hon. Jos. Story, LL. D., Cambridge, Ms.
 Hon. Wm. R. Staples, Providence.
 Henry B. Schoolcraft, Esq.
 Thomas Spalding, Esq., Darien.
 Prof. Jared Sparks, Cambridge, Ms.
 Wm. B. Sprague, D. D., Albany, N. Y.
 Benj. Stillman, M. D., LL. D., New Haven.
 *Hon. Wm. Sullivan, LL. D., Boston.
 Sheftall Sheftall, Esq., Savannah.
 Wm. L. Stone, Esq., New York.
 Wm. Gilmer Simms, Esq., Charleston.
 Hon. Andrew Stevenson, Minister to England.
 Rev. Adiel Sherwood, Ga.
 Hon. Wm. Schley, Ga.
 Hon. James Savage, Boston.
 S. W. Singer, Esq., London, Eng.
 Hon. David L. Swain, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Robt. Southey, LL. D., England.
 Peter Suyvesant, Esq., New York.
 Col. John Trumbull, New Haven.
 B. B. Thatcher, Esq., Boston.
 Hon. Geo. M. Troup, Ga.
 Jas. Thatcher, M. D., Plymouth, Ms.
 Hon. Martin Van Buren, LL. D., Pres. U. S.
 John Vauxhn, Esq., Philadelphia.
 Hon. Henry Wheaton, Minister to Prussia.
 Moses Waddel, D. D., Athens.
 Noah Webster, LL. D., New Haven.
 Thos. H. Webb, M. D., Boston.
 *Hon. Jos. M. White, Florida.
 Hon. Levi Woodbury, LL. D., Washington.
 Geo. Woodruff, Esq., Trenton, N. J.
 Hon. Thos. L. Winthrop, LL. D., Boston.
 Richard H. Wilde, Esq., Ga.
 Richard Yeardon, Jr. Esq., Charleston.

CIRCULAR.

Savannah, June 26, 1839.

SIR, — The Library Committee of the GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, beg leave respectfully to request of those interested in its design, to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, as soon as convenient, whatever of the following books or documents they may be disposed to contribute to the archives of the Society.

Journals of the Provincial Congress, and Colonial and State Legislatures; Records of the proceedings of Conventions and Committees of Safety; Journals of the King's

Council; original and later Statutes of the Province and State; Treaties with any Indian Tribes, or with any State or Nation.

Reports of Boards of Health; Statistics of births, deaths, the deaf, dumb and blind; accounts of special Epidemics; copies of Medical Journals; Catalogues of Medical Colleges; and members of the profession are earnestly requested to prepare reports on the medical topography of the various places where they may be located.

Sketches of the Histories of Cities, Towns, Counties; for whom named, together with Maps, Surveys, Charters, and whatever relates to the civil history of the State.

Meteorological observations; Reports of Geological and Mineralogical Surveys, and every thing relating to the Natural History of the State.

The earliest notices of Indian tribes within our boundaries, their manners and customs, their battles and skirmishes; the adventures and sufferings of captives and travellers in their territories; the Indian name of rivers, hills, districts, islands, bays, and other places, with the traditions attached to the same, together with their monuments and relics.

Sketches of the lives of all eminent and remarkable persons who have lived in the State, or were connected with its history; original journals, letters, documents and papers, illustrating the same, or of our ancestors generally.

All works relating to the History of Georgia, its Colleges, Academies, and Seminaries; minutes and proceedings of scientific and literary associations, orations, sermons, addresses, tracts, essays, pamphlets and poems, delivered or written on any public occasion, or commemorative of any remarkable event; magazines, almanacs, reviews, and newspapers from their first introduction into the colony.

Tables of exports and imports, price currents, reports of rail roads, canals, banks, and insurance offices; proceedings of chambers of commerce, registers of vessels and steam boats, notices of the rise and progress of agriculture, and manufactures of every kind, and the nature and amount of fisheries.

Militia returns and regulations; the number, location, and date of incorporation of volunteer corps; the names of field, staff and general officers; description of all fortifications that have been, or now are in existence; notices of battles and

battle fields, and of the invasions, depredations, and skirmishes, by and with foreign nations, from the first settlement of the colony.

Proceedings of conventions, assemblies, synods, presbyteries, conferences and religious associations of all kinds; sketches of the origin and progress of individual churches, names of the officiating clergy, with the date of their settlement, the sect to which they belong, and the time of the removal or death of all such as have left their charge, or have deceased.

The Committee would respectfully state, that while in the above specifications, they have regarded merely their own State, yet they by no means wish to limit the donations to, or collections of the Society, to topics purely local in their interest. They solicit contributions of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, newspapers, and every thing which can elucidate the history of America generally, as well as Georgia in particular; and they sincerely hope that this call upon the liberality of all who love the honor of our commonwealth, and desire to perpetuate the faithful records of her existence, will be responded to, with an ardor that will insure the complete success of the GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JAMES M. WAYNE,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
WM. LAW,		
JOHN C. NICOLL,		
ROBERT M. CHARLTON,		
WM. B. STEVENS.		

N. B. — Whenever *private* conveyance can be obtained, for the transmission of books, documents, &c., it would be preferred to forwarding them by mail.

NAMES
OF THE
GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA,
FROM THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE IN 1732, TO 1840.

JAMES OGLETHORPE, the civil and military Governor under the Trustees, from July 15, 1732, to June 9, 1752, when the Trustees resigned their charter.

WILLIAM STEPHENS, President of Council, and acting Governor in the absence of General Oglethorpe, July 11, 1743, to April 8, 1751.

HENRY PARKER, President of Council, and acting Governor from April 8, 1751, to Oct., 1, 1754.

JOHN REYNOLDS, Governor under the crown of Great Britain, Oct. 1, 1754, to Feb. 15, 1757.

HENRY ELLIS, Governor, Feb. 16, 1757, to Oct. 31, 1760.

JAMES WRIGHT, Governor, Oct. 31, 1760, to July 11, 1782.

JAMES HABERSHAM, President of Council and acting Governor, in the absence of Sir James Wright, July 2, 1771, to Feb. 11, 1773.

WILLIAM EWEN, President of the Council of Safety, under the American government, June 22, 1775, to Jan. 20, 1776.

ARCHIBALD BULLOCH, President of the Provincial Council, and Commander in Chief, Jan. 20, 1776, to Feb. 22, 1777.

BUTTON GWINNETT, President of Council, and Commander in Chief, Feb. 22, 1777, to May 8, 1777.

JOHN ADAM TREUTLEN, Governor under the new Constitution, May 8, 1777, to Jan. 8, 1778.

JOHN HOUSTOUN, Governor, Jan. 8, 1778, to Dec. 29, 1778.

JOHN WEREAT, President of the Executive Council, Dec. 29, 1778, to Nov. 4, 1779.

GEORGE WALTON, Governor, Nov. 4, 1779, to Jan. 7, 1780.

RICHARD HOWLEY, " Jan. 7, 1780, to Jan. 7, 1781.

STEPHEN HEARD, President of the Executive Council, Jan. 7, 1781, to Aug. 15, 1781.

NATHAN BROWNSON, Governor, Aug. 16, 1781, to Jan. 1782.
 JOHN MARTIN, " Jan. 8, 1782, to Jan. 9, 1783.
 LYMAN HALL, " Jan. 9, 1783, to Jan. 9, 1784.
 JOHN HOUSTOUN, " Jan. 9, 1784, to Jan. 14, 1785.
 SAMUEL ELBERT, " Jan. 14, 1785, to Jan. 9, 1786.
 EDWARD TELFAIR, " Jan. 9, 1786, to Jan. 9, 1787.
 GEORGE MATTHEWS, " Jan. 9, 1787, to Jan. 25, 1788.
 GEORGE HANDLEY, " Jan. 25, 1788, to Jan. 9, 1789.
 GEORGE WALTON, " Jan. 9, 1789, to Nov. 9, 1790.
 EDWARD TELFAIR, " Nov. 9, 1790, to Nov. 7, 1793.
 GEORGE MATTHEWS " Nov. 7, 1793, to Jan. 15, 1796.
 JARED IRWIN, " Jan. 17, 1796, to Jan. 11, 1798.
 JAMES JACKSON, " Jan. 12, 1798, to Mar. 3, 1801.
 DAVID EMANUEL, President of the Senate, March 3, 1801, to Nov. 7, 1801.

JOSIAH TATTNALL, Governor, Nov. 7, 1801, to Nov. 4, 1802.

JOHN MILLEDGE, " Nov. 4, 1802, to Sept. 23, 1806.

JARED IRWIN, President of the Senate, Sept. 23, 1806, to Nov. 7, 1806.

JARED IRWIN, Governor, Nov. 7, 1806, to Nov. 9, 1809.

DAVID B. MITCHELL, " Nov. 9, 1809, to Nov. 1813.

PETER EARLY " Nov. 1813, to Nov. 1815.

DAVID B. MITCHELL, " Nov. 1815, to Mar. 4, 1817.

[Resigned.]

WILLIAM RABUN, President of the Senate, Governor ad interim till Nov. 1817.

WILLIAM RABUN, Governor, Nov. 1817, to Oct. 25, 1819. [Died.]

MATTHEW TALBOT, President of the Senate, Governor ad interim till Nov. 13, 1819.

JOHN CLARK, Governor, Nov. 1819, to Nov. 1823.

GEO. M. TROUP, " " 1823 " 1827.

JOHN FORSYTH, " " 1827 " 1829.

GEO. R. GILMER, " " 1829 " 1831.

WILSON LUMPKIN, " " 1831 " 1835.

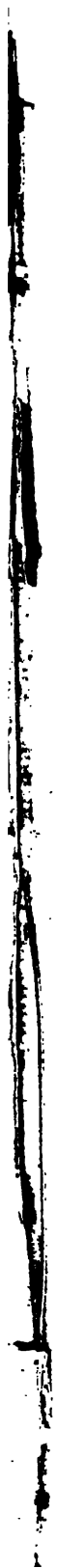
WILLIAM SCHLEY, " " 1835 " 1837.

GEO. R. GILMER, " " 1837 " 1839.

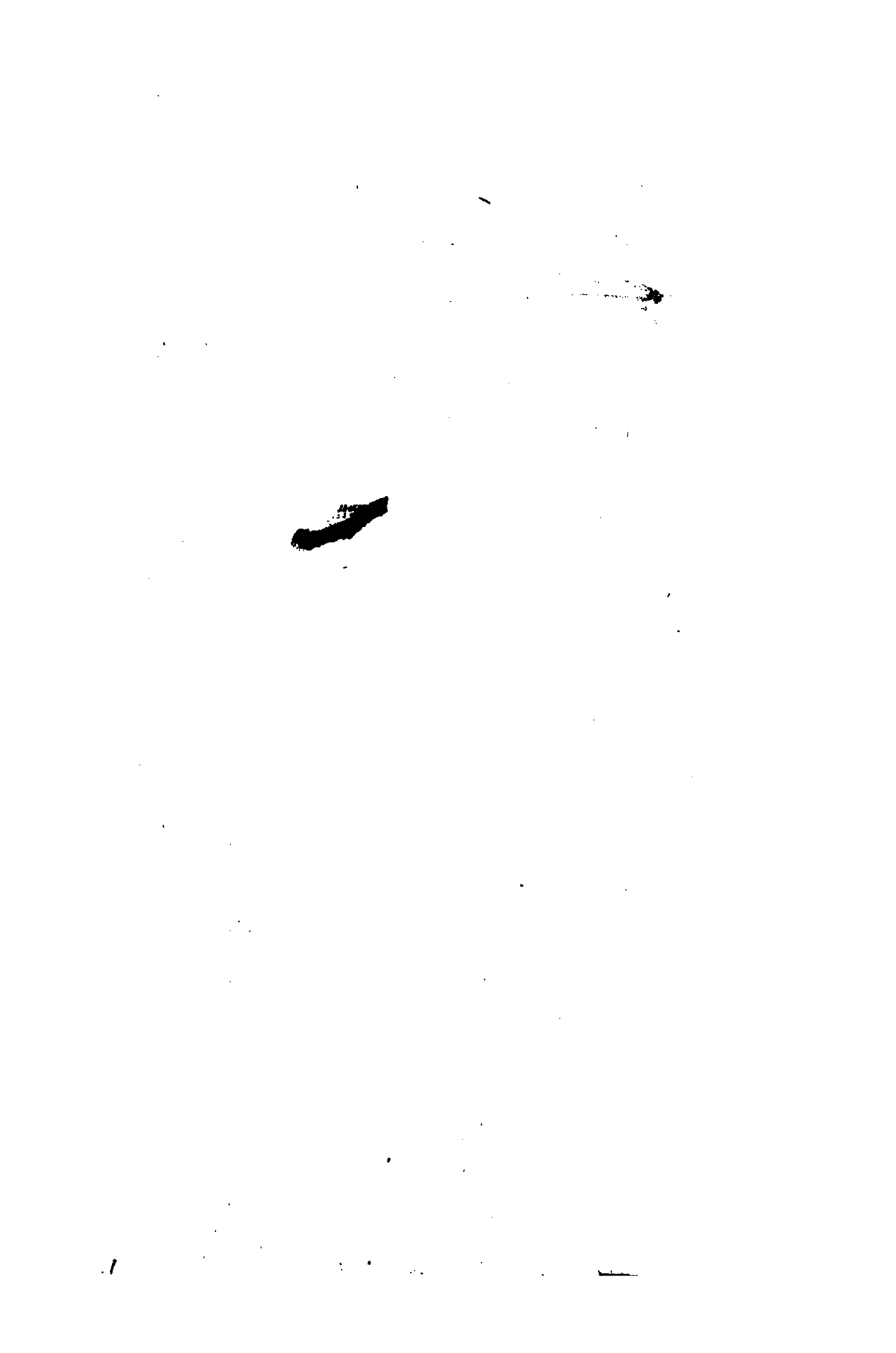
CHARLES J. McDONALD, " " 1839

*The following names should be added to the list of
Honorary Members.*

John Gorham Palfrey, D. D., L. L. D., Boston.
F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Boston.
Hon. Richard Fletcher, Boston.
Henry Barnard, 2d, Hartford, Conn.
George Folsom, Esq., New York.
John Howland, Esq., Providence, R. I.
Rev. Stephen Elliot, Jr., Columbia, S. C.



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